DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 064 559 AC 012 629

TITLE	Adult Education and Community Advancement.
INSTITUTION	Australian Association of Adult Education.
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	215p.; Proceedings of the National Conference-Australian Association of Adult Education (10th, Sydney, 1970)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; *Adult Literacy; Community Benefits; *Community Development; *Community Migrant Projects; Conferences; *Disadvantaged Groups; Educationally Disadvantaged; Ethnic Studies; Labor Unions; Migrant Adult Education; National Programs; Rural Extension; *Teacher Role
IDENTIFIERS	Aborignals; *Australia; New Guinea; Papua

ABSTRACT

The seventeen papers following the Introductory Address by P. H. Sheats are: Literacy in Territory of Papua and New Guinea by A. Tavai; The Role of the Teacher in Community Advancement by W. Hatton; Financial Education and Community Advancement in Papua and New Guinea by E. V. Fleming; Army Education in Papua and New Guinea by R. T. Jones; Aboringinal Adult Education in the Northern Territory with Particular Reference to Literacy by P. M. C. Turnbull; Aboriginal Adult Education and Community Advancement by A. T. Duncan; Adult Education Amongst Central Australian Aborigins - Some Principles and Methods by Rev. J. H. Downing; The Teacher's Role in Community Advancement by A. Grey; The Maori Leadership Conferences Community Advancement of an Ethnic Minority by S. R. Morrison; The Disadvantaged - Problems of Special Provision by C. Duke; Education and Disadvantage by N. Haines; Education in Prisons by N. F. Nance; The Rural Depressed by N. D. Crew; The Two-Way Processes of Migrant Assimilation by D. Buckland; An Approach to Migrant Education by P. Arblaster; Trade Union Education by P. Mathews; and The Postal Course Scheme for Trade Unionists by E. Williams. (LS)

ED 064559

Adult Education

AND

Community Advancement

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

SYDNEY 1970

AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION
OF ADULT EDUCATION

Box 1346, P.O.
Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601

"ADULT EDUCATION & COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE - AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney for transmission through the Post as a book.

National Library of Australia card number and ISBN 0 909880 62 6.

One Volume.

PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7

10.30 am - 12.30 pm	Registration at International House.
2.00 pm - 3.30 pm	Symposium: Adult Literacy in T.P.N.G. Lt.-Col. R. Jones, Mr. J.B. Horner.
4.00 pm - 5.30 pm	Symposium: Community Advancement in T.P.N.G. Mr. E. Fleming and others.
5.45 pm	Reception by the Chancellor, University of Sydney, Mr. H.D. Black.
8.00 pm	Symposium: Asian and African Community Advancement. Delegates from W.C.O.T.P.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8

9.15 am - 10.45 am	Symposium: Aboriginal Adult Education and Community Advancement. Rev. J. Downing; Mr. P. Turnbull; Mr. A.J. Duncan.
11.00 am - 12.30 pm	Group Discussions.
2.00 pm - 3.30 pm	Symposium: The Role of Teachers in Community Advancement. Dr. R. Pearse; Mr. A. Grey.
4.00 pm - 5.00 pm	Group Discussions.
5.00 pm - 5.30 pm	Plenary Session: Report from W.C.O.T.P. Seminar.
8.00 pm	Symposium: Migrant Education. Mr. P. Arblaster and Mrs. D. Buckland.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9

9.15 am - 10.45 am	Symposium: The Concept of Disadvantage. Dr. C. Duke; Dr. N. Haines.
11.00 am - 12.30 pm	Symposium: The Disadvantaged: Problems of Special Provision. Dr. C. Duke; Dr. N. Haines.
2.00 pm - 5.00 pm	Annual Meeting of A.A.A.E.
8.00 pm	Public Address: Prospects for Continuing Education in the 'Seventies'. Professor Paul H. Sheats.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10

9.00 am - 12.30 pm	Syndicate Meetings.
2.00 pm - 5.30 pm	Group Meetings.
8.00 pm	Free Evening.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11

9.15 am - 10.45 am	Group Meetings.
11.00 am - 12.30 pm	Syndicate Meetings.
2.00 pm - 3.30 pm	Syndicate Meetings.
4.00 pm - 5.30 pm	Final Plenary Session. Syndicate and Group Reports.

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C O N T E N T S

Contents (Cont'd)

I N T R O D U C T O R Y A D D R E S S

"PROSPECTS FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTIES"

Dr. Paul H. Sheats

Professor of Adult Education

University of California, Los Angeles, USA.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

It is my extremely good fortune to be in Australia during the annual meeting of this Association and I am most indebted to you for the opportunity of participating in your deliberations. I am considerably less certain as to the rewards - and from your point of view potential punishments - which are associated with the presentation of a formal paper on the programme. I do wish to take full responsibility, thus absolving your Secretary of any guilt deriving from his invitation on your behalf, for largely ignoring the central theme of your 1970 Conference in order to indulge my own somewhat idiosyncratic predelictions.

As numerous friends and colleagues in this audience already know, my interest in adult education and continuing education in Australia and New Zealand antedates my last well-remembered journey to this part of the world some eleven years ago. That earlier interest has been sustained thanks to sabbatical leaves of absence (parenthetically must be added our good fortune in the US to lie athwart the eastbound passage to England), to international conferences, and to a shared literature in our field of which the Journal of this Association must hold an honoured place.

I suppose that I should further make explicit at the outset of my somewhat arrogant attempt at crystal-ball gazing two assumptions: (1) that the concerns about the future of adult education in the seventies to which I shall address myself tonight have sufficient elements in common among our respective countries to merit discussion in a national meeting and (2) that a multi-lateral exchange of views as to the nature of the choices now confronting professional adult educators in your countries and mine may hopefully improve the quality of the decisions to be made.

In the preparation of this paper I wish to give generous credit to the usefulness of your own 1968 Conference Proceedings (available to adult education students and professors at U.C.L.A. by reason of microfile) and to the just-published 1970 Handbook of Adult Education in the US.

In a more personal vein, many of the guidelines to international co-operation in adult education and to the forward movement of the field were fashioned by the minds and hands of Arnold Hely and Sandy Liveright. As an adult educator, I for one would face the seventies with more optimism if these two truly great architects of the future were still among us.

In one of the manuscripts which Liveright wrote after his last visit to Australia he identified some of the barriers to a more rapid development of adult education resources and programmes:

(a) the absence of a clear-cut national policy on adult education,
(b) the uncertain and indefinite provisions for fiscal support,
(c) the lack of an official body responsible for planning and development in adult education.
(d) bickering among adult educators themselves,
(e) the absence of direct university involvement in adult education in certain Australian States.

I am sure that Liveright as he constructed this list was struck as I am, with the common elements to be found in a comparable Bill of Particulars for adult education in the US. It is this commonality albeit with differences in detail which has emboldened me to make the assessment of prospects for the seventies which I will now undertake. My list of four items is only illustrative, of course, and even these may most correctly be described in John Gardner's phrase as "a series of great opportunities brilliantly disguised as insoluble problems".

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1. The dilemma created by the institutional marginality of adult education in the face of the projected growth in size of the learning force:

One of the working papers distributed in connection with the Galaxy Conference on Adult Education in Washington last December was prepared by Stanley Moses, a political scientist and research associate at the Educational Policy Research Centre, Syracuse University under

the title "Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education." Moses deals with two concepts, the first, a familiar one to adult educators, the phenomenon of marginality which Moses describes as the "periphery" of the educational establishment in contradistinction to the "core" and the second - the concept of "the learning force". The learning force consists of all those participating in organised educational activity in the periphery (i.e., marginal segments of the educational establishment) as well as in the core (i.e., formal schooling in primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions).*

The exciting aspect of Moses' analysis is the obvious incongruity in the process of long-range educational planning, of concentrating almost exclusively on the problems of the "core". when in fact, projections of US enrolments in the periphery - adult education - indicate that by1975, these enrolments will exceed those in the formal agencies including pre-school students, through full-time enrolees in tertiary education. It is a little difficult to rationalise the pre-occupation of educational planners in the US with establisment-core-oriented problems to the virtual exclusion of an enterprise which by 1975 will reach 32.4 million enrolments. The number of adults in the learning force already exceeds the number in the labour force and more and more of the latter, of necessity in the face of threatening job obsolescence, are participating in continuing education.

I do not have, of course, comparable statistics for Australia, but the issue is not one that depends for its resolution on statistical data alone. The social pressures which make lifelong learning mandatory, (the learn or perish imperative) are not, I am convinced, any less central to the achievement of national goals in Australia or New Zealand than in the US. It is my impression that non-University, part-time enrolments in your Colleges of Advanced Education already exceed full-time enrolments. The pressures for community and developmental education must be equally intense. How then does adult education get into the main tent?

At the risk of starting some arguments which will dog my footsteps throughout my visit here, I am convinced that the core educational institutions in your country or mine, which have always maintained at best, a marginal interest in adult education, have had

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* *A summary of the paper appears in Continuing Education for Adult No. 142, Nov. 28, 1969 - available from the ERIC Clearing House on Adult Education, Syracuse University.*

their chance; that new institutional arrangements must be created if the continuing education challenge of the seventies is to be met. Fortunately for you in Australia and New Zealand, there is a body of experimentation and experience with agencies not directly aligned with the educational establishments, which may provide guide lines for some of us with less highly sophisticated histories to follow. The experience with grants to voluntary bodies is also germane to the problem, including the successes and failures of collaboration with the Workers' Education Association.

2. *The problem of co-ordination and differentiation of institutional functions:*

Whatever the institutional forms and arrangements through which the expanding demand for continuing education is met, there will most certainly be an increasing need for co-operative planning of programmes to meet community and national needs. Where should responsibility for deciding who does what - when and where - lie?

Let me cite an example from my own experience in California, where the effort to provide at least a minimal amount of co-ordinated planning of adult education in the Universities, the State Colleges, the Community Colleges and the public adult schools by governmental action, has just come to a grinding halt.

We have had in California, a so-called Master Plan for Higher Education, with a Co-ordinating Council financed from state funds, and a staff-supported Committee on Continuing Education which represented in addition to public institutions of higher learning, the private institutions and the adult education programmes of the public schools. Shortly before I left California, the Legislature in a fit of pique over the alleged failure of the Colleges and the Universities to curb student protest movements, summarily cut off support for the Co-ordinating Council. Even before this happened, the Council had indicated that it could no longer concern itself with the marginally important task of co-ordinating adult education.

The battleground has now apparently shifted to the local level. A recent publication of the American Association of Junior Colleges states, that only the Community Colleges have accepted, as a major responsibility, the administrative co-ordination of the total community effort in continuing education. Many of my colleagues in the public adult schools would dispute this claim. Others think a lay

council provides the best hope. Meanwhile, the overlapping and duplication of effort continues, while at the same time, many potential clients are left unserved.

3. The social relevance and usefulness of continuing education:

Your Conference theme, with its concern for the disadvantaged, is one evidence of the shift in all of our countries from primary attention historically to the meeting of individual needs, to major emphasis on societal needs and the role of continuing education in public policy-making and community problem-solving. We have spectacularly failed to involve the under-educated, the alienated, the poverty stricken and the minority groups within our potential constitutency.

Except in rare instances, we have preferred to teach subject matter rather than to run the risk of involving ourselves or our institutions in contraversial programmes of social action. It might be hypothesized that unless adult education agencies in the seventies get closer to the critical areas of social concern than they were apparently able to do in the sixties, they will, and should be, supplanted by more socially relevant institutions. Too often in my country, we have attempted to meet this challenge by a change of labels. We now have community adult schools, community colleges, urban studies centres. We emphasize community service as though it were synonomous with community development and problem solving. But we are still essentially cafeteria managers of class programmes, which in the words of one of your speakers at the 1968 Conference, Brian Parke of Western Australia, confuse continuing instruction with continuing education.

It is not without significance, that in the figures on growth of the learning force which I reported earlier, almost two-thirds of the enrolments are in vocational, technical and professional upgrading programmes. Job obsolescence is apparently a fact of life, which even the common labourer can understand. Would, that the same insight could penetrate the jungle of institutional obsolescence and tap the well-springs of public support for correcting the shameful disregard of education for public responsibility, and citizen participation in public affairs.

I said, there were exceptions. I hope that the exceptions become the rule; that adult educators become community change educators

become community change educators and consultants, who, in the words of a recent report from the American Association of Junior Colleges, will possess the skills needed "to identify, analyze and attack community problems" even if this means abandoning the campus for the streets, seeking out and working with community activists of different political complexions and hues.

This is not an easy task, and it is not surprising that there is resistance to change even among adult educators. Required, is the application of new knowledge from the behavioural sciences on organisational training; new techniques from the social sciences for diagnosing needs, and managing change in the common good.

4. *The requisites of trained manpower, research and development, and, concommitantly, adequate fiscal support:*

It goes without saying that the Universities have a special responsibility in the seventies, for the training of adult educators and the conduct of needed research and experimentation. If private industry had to survive (let alone make a profit) on the meagre sums spent on educational research and development, our respective economies would fall apart at the seams. We know little about our clients and even less about those who are uninvolved, and why they remain so. We are beginning to accumulate some hard data on the use of para-professionals and team teaching as a way of reaching the hard to reach. The National Institute of Adult Education in London, as most of you know, has conducted a study of client characteristics which might serve as a model to all of us. In selected areas in our country, especially in fields where Federal funding is available, we are making a massive effort to upgrade the quality of adult education teaching and programming. But there are relatively only a handful of Universities in the US and, from what I read, even fewer in Australia and New Zealand, which have seriously undertaken their responsibility for the training of adult education professionals and the management of research into adult learning theory, administration, teaching methodology, or the communication of change-agent skills.

Moreover, we face, at least in the first part of the decade ahead, a period of increasing demand and proportionately declining financial support. One consequence may well be increased emphasis on self-managed learning and independent study. Here, educational technology may assist us in the development of instructional sequences in programmed texts, or on cassettes, or by way of the mass media. The Moses projections show a 50% increase in the use of television for instruction between 1970 and 1975.

A second consequence may well be accelerated programming activity outside the educational establishment. Again, to use the Moses study in the US, the highest rate of increase in adult education is in the proprietary institutions where enrolments are expected to double in the same five year period. In-plant adult education in business and industry is expected to grow two and one-half times during the decade ahead.

I do not view with optimism, the outlook for needed fiscal support in our established agencies. My pessimism is based on the belief that more money will only come through the reduction of our marginal status, and the organisation of leaders in the field for political action. I hope I am wrong, but I do not see these things happening soon. Perhaps I need a new crystal ball. Perhaps we need a new start such as Wilbur Cohen, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Michigan has proposed, namely a system of Educaid under which, as in our system of Medicaid, each of us builds up an educational credit line, established by union contracts and government contributions, on which each can draw whenever the need for new learning arises.

It may well be that this presentation has raised more problems than it has suggested answers. If so, I can only close with a short story about a company in Los Angeles that wished to make a change in its pension and retirement system - a change which would eliminate the need for any employee contributions to the fund. Figuring that this would be a shoo-in, the company passed the good word to the employees and asked for signatures on the change-over blanks. But one old-timer screwed up the works. He refused to sign on the grounds that, if the employee didn't contribute to the pension system, he wouldn't appreciate the pay-off..... the whole idea (he thought) was a dastardly campaign to weaken human character. His foreman talked with him to no avail. The plant supervisor similarly. The Vice President in charge of Personnel was called in and presented a most cogent and eloquent case - but again without persuading this man. Finally, in desperation, the President of the company called on the recalcitrant union member. He sat him down at the President's desk and said, "Now you S.O.B., I want your signature on this line." The employee signed as indicated, and the President, relaxing somewhat in the face of his unexpected success said, "John, why couldn't three important officers of this company get you to sign?" John's answer was straightforward: "You are the only one who explained the problem to me".

If I haven't explained the problem, you don't have to sign .....

"THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION & EXTENSION SERVICES AND ADULT EDUCATION"

T.P.N.G.

S. Piniau

The Department of Information & Extension Services aims at raising the general level of awareness of the indigenous people, working through such media as the press, radio, films, publications and other audio-visual aids and by servicing the educational arms of the technical departments to make more effective their extension programme aimed at improving the actual practices of the people in such matters as agriculture, health education, socio-economic development and political awareness etc.

The nature of Papua and New Guinea's topography, lack of a common language, heterogeneous population etc. pose great challenge to this department's activites.

The rural population of the country is largely illiterate and lack usual life experience due to rapid transformation from an extremely primitive state to the 20th century.

Every activity of the Department, therefore, has to be designed carefully to suit this condition and people. Often this process is time consuming but to be effective in Papua and New Guinea this is unavoidable.

Broadly, the Department is organised to give assistance in the following ways:

- Advice as to methods and techniques in communication (as distinct from what is to be communicated).
- Advice as to audio-visual aids for use in extension community education programme.
- Design and production of materials to be used in such programmes.
- Provide a link between departments and the mass media.
- Evaluation of the effectiveness of programmes in the field, media used and approach applied.
- Operation of broadcasting stations and provide a channel of communication between the Administration and the people.

- Maintain a public library service - generally assist in promoting the awareness, understanding and acceptance of the Government's objectives, policies and programmes.

The Department is not required to determine what information should be passed on, what attitudes should be fostered, what new skills should be developed or what changes in behaviour are desired. It can help with advice as to how to present new ideas and with materials to assist in their presentation, it can help with advice as to timing and factors in the society which may assist or hinder.

In general the Department responds to demands from other Departments but it has a responsibility to advise other Departments of situations coming to its attention and requiring action at the level of Government.

The Department is not required and does not presume to take over the functional responsibilities of other Departments. For example, Agriculture must remain responsible for agricultural extension, Health for health education, Treasury for education in relation to savings, investment and taxation, the Development Bank for publicising the Bank's services in promoting local development, Labour for trade union education, District Administration for promoting local government, education for adult literacy and so on. The function of the Department of Information & Extension Services is to assist these other Departments carry out their field activities effectively. In practice, the Department has concentrated on problems in communicating with the illiterate and the semi-illiterate villager.

To adopt some military phraseology, the Department can help in relation to the strategy, the tactics, the armament, and with intelligence, before, during and after a campaign but its role is not to wage other Department's battles. This Department is not required to work continuously in the field on particular campaigns although it spends considerable time in the field trying to find ways and means for better communication.

Advice to other Departments must have regard to the following factors:

- Both the long term and short term objectives.
- The existing situation (cultural, economic, etc.)
- Resources (manpower, skills, finance, materials etc.)
- The incentives (effecting the people).

And as a programme is worked out, there must be a continuing assessment and a preparedness to adjust. As a Department we can provide information to be used in making an assessment and may be able to suggest alternative approaches which could be adopted and practiced by Departments more successfully.

THE DEPARTMENT'S RESOURCES:

(a) A Publications Branch. This prepares manuscripts, designs publications, arranges illustrations, has translations prepared etc. It has a limited amount of off-set equipment for printing, but makes use of the Government Printing Office. In addition to initiating various "publications" it helps other Departments with scripts, layouts and publication of books, brochures, pamphlets, posters etc.

(b) A Film Unit. This makes films both for other Departments and for use in the general information services of the Department. It works with both 16mm and 8mm film, the latter mainly for use in extension projects. Greater use will be made of the Unit to produce films for specific purposes when suitable staff and increased funds are available.

(c) A Film Library. This now contains some 3,000 titles, many of these produced by the Film Unit. The library now has a qualified librarian, able to provide a satisfactory advisory service. Many films have commentaries in Pidgin and Police Motu. Others carry magnetic stripes so that, with proper equipment, commentaries can be recorded locally. The tendency has been to use films mainly for entertainment but in the belief that most films can do something to expand people's awareness generally. Clearly more use could be made of films in both extension and general adult education work.

(d) Artists. Both an overseas and several local artists are employed. They do book illustrations and general designs, they design posters, wallsheets etc. and print by silk screen method.

(e) Photographic Section. This section has a wide range of equipment. Photographs are taken at the request of other Departments and prints provided. Filmstrips, and pictorial materials are also produced. An extensive, well catalogued collection of negatives are available and advice is given on the selection of material. Extensive use of this section is being made by Department and the news media.

(f) Equipment Pool. There is a limited amount of such equipment as tape recorders, cameras, public address systems, 16mm projectors, daylight screen etc. which can be borrowed for particular projects. These are used by the Department in Extension and Adult Education activities throughout the Territory.

(g) Projection Unit. The Department controls 28 Projection Units, 10 of these are in vans and one is on a canoe. In other cases, we rely on pool transport. The operators have limited education and are not useful on much more than operating. Much more extensive use is being made of these to screen films in the villages for instructional purposes. The Department also supplies radio sets. The number becoming available now is limited. To date little attention has been given to community listening centres but the intention is, when adequate funds are available,

to promote the establishment of organised listening groups at key centres and villages.

(i) Information Branch. It acts as a press agency for the Administration. Information about the Aministration is supplied daily to overseas and local press and radio, including Administration Broadcasting Stations. It supplies handout material in response to enquiries and prepares handout material on new topics. It provides information and articles for outside publications. Its services can be used to promote Administration projects. This section is under considerable pressure to do more "to tell people about the Government". Its public relations role has been expanded. This is matched with efforts to find out the people's reactions, to find out their attitudes and needs, to define issues on which action needs to be taken. We are perhaps too oriented towards local and overseas press reactions in many instances at the moment. This branch also prepares:

(1) Pamphlets and manuscripts.
(2) Booklets - including TWITHA.
(3) P.R. Programme.
(4) Press liaison for major conferences (press conferences etc).
(5) Arrangements for visits of journalists, film makers, etc.

(j) Periodicals. "Our News" is published fortnightly in English and Pidgin. Present circulation is 29,000. It used to have 12 pages but recently was increased to 16. "Our News" was designed initially for people outside school but it has become increasingly popular with school children. The demand is well beyond our capacity to supply. The view has been expounded that it is not this Department's responsibility to produce reading material for schools. If so, it might be desirable to gear "Our News" more to the needs of adult literates and adult education activities generally.

(k) Public Libraries. There are 20 libraries in various centres of the Territory. At present the total number of books maintained in these libraries is 110,000. It is hoped that, when funds become available, the number of books will be increased considerably.

The borrowing services of these libraries are extensively used by indigenous school children. Adult members are limited to more sophisticated town dwellers. Efforts are being made to attract more adult members in the country areas but this will depend on the spread of literacy in the country. Most of the libraries have a country borrowing service through which people in the remote areas can borrow books from their nearest library on a regular basis.

The main purpose of our Library Service is to help encourage literacy and general knowledge among the indegenous people of the country.

(l) Literature Bureau. This Bureau was established in 1968 but its progress was hampered due to nonavailability of suitable overseas staff. It now has an Officer-in-Charge and it is starting to become effective. The main purpose of the Bureau is to stimulate reading among the newly literate people of Papua and New Guinea, to encourage publications of indegenous literacy materials and its distribution on a commercial basis. The Literature Bureau is not required to teach people to read and write, but to provide for their literacy needs. Much research needs to be done into what forms and levels of writing people want to read and in what form or forms the material can be presented to them.

One of the things the Bureau will attempt is to encourage Papuans and New Guineans to transcribe their native legends and tales and thus preserve them for future generations.

In order to further promote and assist local authors, the Bureau will distribute, in the near future, a pilot number of a writer's "Workshop" magazine to be called "New Guinea Writing". This will contain short stories, legends, poems and general articles by both new and established authors.

Further stimulation for local writers is being provided by the Bureau in the form of an "open competition for indigenous poets" and by associating with such activities sponsored by other organisations.

The Bureau tries to get good reading materials into the hands of the people as quickly and as cheaply as possible through other available outlets.

The Bureau is at present establishing contact with individuals and organisations directly involved in adult literacy in order to determine what relation the work of the Bureau must have to adult education activites.

(m) Broadcasting. The Department controls eight stations, each operates independently Further stations are planned. A reasonable increase in expenditure is allowed each year on this activity. Stations are set up to help Departments in the districts. The use made of them varies considerably. Some years ago we suggested that the Department of Education might detail an officer to experiment with the use of radio for adult education in a selected district - a kind of pilot project. Possibly any development in this direction would require the establishment of community listening centres and the organisation of listening groups.

There is not a great deal of information available about listening habits, programme preference etc. But the evidence is that stations enjoy a high degree of acceptance among indigenous listeners. Programmes are directed in the main at village residents, at people who are illiterate or nearly so (the view is taken that the ABC caters for the interest of overseas personnel and more advanced Papuans and New Guineans. Various

things are done to maintain close rapport with listeners and as a result of these measures there is a considerable flow-back of information and material from them.

While the position varies from district to district and from Department to Department, it is fair to say that, in general, officers in the field do make considerable use of the stations with advantage to their Departments and the indigenous population generally.

Programmes on health, education, agriculture, welfare, news of the Territory etc. are broadcast daily in addition to traditional music, interviews and other popular programmes.

This year some new programmes have been added. Among these, the political education programme and the broadcast of House of Assembly proceedings on "questions without notice" are worth mentioning.

Radio is undoubtedly one of our most effective communication media and this could play a far greater role in adult education in this country.

We have the facility; it is up to the agencies concerned to utilise it.

(n) Extension Division. The role of this Division is explained in the opening section of this paper. This Division specialises in the business of "Communicating".

The word communication is used frequently in all sorts of contexts and often is supposed to mean "expression".

For a long time it has been thought that effective communication depends solely on developing the skills of verbal expressior However, it is now understood generally that effective communication is concerned also with an immense variety of psychological and sociological factors. In a developing country such as Papua and New Guinea, therefore, the need to consider communication in this light is absolutely essential. Much of the success of the Administration's efforts will depend on how effectively its workers are able to communicate with the people.

With this aim in view, the Extension Division conducts courses for Administration Officers at various levels in extension methods and the use of audio-visual aid.

The Division also advises on the design and type of audio-visual aids to be used by various Departments. It undertakes studies in comprehension, surveys, field testing of extension aids and evaluation of extension programmes and materials including effectiveness of broadcasting.

The Division has expanded its activities considerably over the past two years and increasing number of Departments and agencies are now seeking assistance.

The Division's activities in the field of research will need to expand. We, as a Department, do now know enough about the learning process of the various communities - the illiterate villagers, the underprivileged squatters in urban areas, the literate town dwellers and the emerging elite.

EXTENDING GENERAL AWARENESS, KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING:

It will be apparent that the Department is able to make a significant contribution to expanding the awareness of the people particularly those in rural areas. It can help widen their social, political and cultural horizons. It can help to stimulate new interests and desires. It might be considered whether such efforts are planned with sufficiently careful planning in relation to overall activity in the adult education field. It must be remembered that the great majority of the people are illiterate and that it takes quite a long time for people to become literate, particularly in a foreign language. We cannot put all our effort into literacy programmes and reading material but our contribution is not insignificant.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

The first part of this paper points out the ways in which the Department may contribute to economic development - mainly by arousing general awareness, stimulating a desire for change, maintaining interest, and in helping departments with their extension and community education programmes. There is no doubt that radio could be harnessed more effectively to support socio-cultural development of the people in order to cope with the demands made by economic development.

THE SUPPLY OF READING MATERIAL:

This Department should be able to make a significant contribution of reading material for emerging people of the Territory. However, funds have always been in short supply and difficulty has been experienced in attracting the right sort of workers from overseas. It seems that the provision of reading material and other matter which will keep alive the literacy and other learning of the people who have had some education, commands a low priority at present.

HELPING TO KEEP LIFE INTERESTING IN THE VILLAGES:

The movement of people to the town is a problem here as in other developing countries. Only a small proportion of those who go to school can expect to go out of their villages for higher education and training. Others as well as many without schooling, will leave to try their fortunes in the towns. What can be done to make village life interesting and sustaining enough to retain the partly educated in their villages? It must be acknowledged that no country seems to have been successful at this, short of a system of manpower control. On the face of it, many of the activities of D.I.E.S. ought to help to make village life interesting,

but its resources in equipment, funds and specialist staff are too meagre to make a significant impact. Such resources should be linked with those of other authorities and, perhaps, concentrated in particular areas, to get maximum impact.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:

This Department has contributed in various ways to the political education programme directed by the Administration. Because the majority of rural people are illiterate and are accustomed to learning by hearing, radio has been able to make a special contribution where stations exist. It is certain that radio could have been used with greater effect. The Administration has gone to a great deal of trouble to promote political awareness. The effect of all of this activity must be to stimulate new interests, new needs and new demands.

In recent years this Department, in addition to radio programmes on this subject, has produced filmstrips, films, books, picture stories, charts, leaflets, arranged essay competitions on political matters and trained workers engaged in political education as to how to encourage people to participate in this aspect of their life.

CONCLUSION:

Adult education has been often confused with adult literacy. Adult literacy is a problem and deserves careful consideration. But to consider adult education and adult literacy more or less as synonymous is a grave mistake.

Adult education is a much more comprehensive concept and should not be considered to mean merely the removal of illiteracy.

Adult education should not only cover the illiterate but also the semi-educated, inadequately educated and the educated. While the uneducated need to gain knowledge to become aware of themselves and their environment - the educated need to be educated and re-educated all the time, if they are to remain intellectually alive.

Knowledge is growing faster than many of us think. What we have learnt some years or even some months ago is to become out-of-date in the very near future. Faced with such a possibility, how can we afford not to accept continuous education.

A comprehensive purpose of adult education is to prepare individuals to play an effective role as a member of a family; a society in the country and the world community.

These institutions are changing rapidly, human beings largely being instrumental in brirging about these changes. Therefore, he needs to be equipped and re-equipped with skills, attitudes and aptitudes to take his share in the process. Continuous Education or Adult Education can supply these.

LITERACY IN T.P.N.G.

A. Tavai

"Adult literacy, an essential element in overall development, must be closely linked to economic and social priorities and to present and future manpower. All efforts should therefore tend towards functional literacy. Rather than an end itself, literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing man for a social, civic and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training consisting merely in the teaching of reading and writing. The very process of learning to read and write should be made an opportunity for acquiring information that can immediately be used to improve living standards; reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world, and should ultimately open the way to basic human culture.

Literacy teaching should be resolutely oriented towards development, and should be an integral part not only of any national education plans, but also of plans and projects for development in all sections of the national life. In view of mankind's needs today, education can no longer be confined to the school, the necessary promotion of adult literacy makes it essential to integrate all the school and out-of-school resources of each country.

*Functional literacy for adults must, moreover, involve the whole society and not governments only. It demands the co-operation of all the forces in the nation and, in particular, local authorities and communities, educational, scientific and cultural bodies, public and private enterprises, non-governmental organisations, political groups, religious movements, women's organisations, and so on."**

This functional view of literacy which was contained in the general conclusions of the UNESCO World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy held in Teheran in 1965, is accepted by the Administration. The addition of the general educational and vocational content to the literacy programme results in effective literacy but more hours of instruction from more qualified teachers, (both scarce commodities in a developing country) are needed to achieve this. The "each one teach one" approach is unlikely to succeed in this broad functional approach.

Universal literacy in English is one of the aims of the Administration but because of the linguistic complexities of the Territory, this is a long term goal which will be achieved mainly through the provision of universal education at the primary school level. In Papua-New Guinea, in common with other developing countries, the scarce resources must be husbanded and carefully allocated to provide the maximum and a balanced overall development. Developing national unity, a sound and viable economy, a balanced educational system to meet its manpower needs and a stable political climate, are essential in the Territory's rapid progress towards independence. The ability to read and write cannot alone satisfy the needs and aspirations of the individual nor the community although they may initially believe this to be so. Investment in literacy or in any other section of adult education can be justified only in the Territory by the extent to which it contributes towards the development programme.

The need for a broad programme of adult education has been expressed in the Territory's Five Year Economic Development plan as follows:

> The social, economic, educational and political problems inherent in the indigenes' transition from their present state to the mid-twentieth century demand a system of adult education complementary to the school system.**

The plan also stressed that the co-operative responsibility for this broad programme of adult education rested not only with government departments and agencies but also with Churches and other voluntary organisations, private enterprise and the community itself.***

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* Final Report on the World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy. UNESCO. 1965. P7

** Programmes and Policies for the Economic Development of Papua and New Guinea. Administration of Papua and New Guinea. Port Moresby. 1968. P101.

*** Ibid. P 102.

Although only about 24% of the population are literate and about 12% literate in English, it is not illiteracy that is seriously retarding development. The immediate and urgent manpower need in the Territory is Papuans and New Guineans with higher education and with technical and vocational skills rather than basic literacy. The Territory has already established a broad educational base, with 50% of the school age children having access to primary education. Further investment in education has been in recent years, and will continue to be, in technical and other training and secondary and tertiary education which includes a University and an Institute of Technology, all of which are expensive. In fact, productive employment cannot be found at present for all of the literate young people who must leave school at the primary level. Only 40% of the primary school leavers can be placed in secondary schools. In the short term what is needed is not more adult literacy, but agricultural and industrial innovation and rapid development in these sectors so that new economic opportunities are generated to absorb productively those who are already literate and in whom the country has a considerable educational investment. In the meantime priority has to be given to activities which will enable the young primary school leavers to retain their existing educational skills, including literacy in English, and provide some vocational content to improve their employability and which will at the same time minimise the serious social implications of an increasing number of educated unemployed who tend to gravitate to the urban centres.

Literacy programmes are therefore conducted by the Department of Education on a restricted and more selective basis. Literacy classes, using trained teachers, are provided for groups who have a real need for literacy and who are likely to continue attendance until effective literacy is attained. In the case of English, this may be as long as two years. Most of the classes are therefore held in urban centres where literacy is a desirable, if not an essential pre-requisite for employment or on government or mission stations, in corrective institutions or association with farmers and other longer vocational training programmes. At the village level, and some 80% of the population live in rural areas, the need is for practical skills and information which will directly and immediately improve the quality of village life, and the agricultural activities upon which they depend. These new skills and ideas can more effectively and more quickly be learnt by the villagers from practical demonstration and oral explanation on the spot by a competent Extension Officer, by broadcasts and films and even through the school children, rather than through a literacy programme and the written word subseqently. The scope and problems associated with these extension services are dealt with in later papers on community advancement and adult education. With development, an informed desire and need for wider contact and knowledge, which literacy can then bring, will arise and should be met at that stage. The people

would also be able and prepared to make a greater contribution to the cost of the programme thereby enabling the programme to be conducted in spite of limited government funds.

Retention of interest in literacy programmes which, unlike practical skills, do not bring immediate benefits in rural areas, is always difficult. Although reference is often made to disguised unemployment in rural areas, this is only in the economic sense. In practice, the demands on the time of the villager are considerable and increasing. In addition to the continuing traditional commitments and the needs of subsistence, political, social and economic developments have introduced new responsibilities and demands of a wider society. Labour is required for projects such as road and airfield construction and the building and maintenance of facilities for health, education and other new community services. New institutions such as the Church and the Local Government Council add to his commitments. These contributions, whether in cash or kind, must be earned by engaging in paid employment or producing additional food or cash crops. Their time becomes more valuable and sustained interest and attendance at a long course is difficult to maintain.

The supervisor of a literacy programme in the Morobe District commented in a recent report:

> "We seem to have reached a crucial stage in the progamme where people realise they have to work to be able to read and a number are losing interest or have a greater interest in peanut gardens."

It is therefore not surprising that the villager has expectations of real, immediate and material returns from literacy or for that matter, any form of adult education. But these expectations cannot be met by literacy alone and failure to meet community expectations in one field of adult education is likely to influence the attitude of the community to other development projects.

The basic problem in the Territory is communication and is language rather than literacy. The linguistic situation in the Territory is complex and poses formidable problems to the development of a universal language as an effective means of communication and as a factor in unifying the Territory. The number of distinct languages has not been fully determined but it is certainly in excess of 500 with more recent estimates closer to 700. The speech communities of most of these languages are small with only a fewhaving in excess of 10,000 speakers. None of these languages is understood far beyond their linguistic borders, except Motu, the language of the Central District, and Kate, a New Guinean language used by the Lutheran Mission. Motu had developed as a trade language along the Papuan coast before the advent of Europeans and was later adopted by the Administration as the lingua franca in Papua under the name of Police Motu.

However, its use is limited to three or four Districts out of eighteen and is declining with the spread of education and English. The use of Kate beyond its linguistic area has also declined as it is no longer used as the Church language.

Pidgin (or Pidgin English or Melansesian/Piding as it is alternatively called) has developed as the lingua franca of the islands and the coast of New Guinea, where, according to the 1966 census, about 66% of the population aged 10 and over, were Pidgin speakers.* But it remains a regional language with less than 20% of the people being Pidgin speakers in the Highlands and in Papua. Overall, about 36% of the population were Pidgin speakers. At the same time, the estimated percentage of English speakers was 13%.

Hence, the problem is not only how much of the scarce resources at this stage of development should be directed to literacy programmes but also in which language should these be invested. Making a person literate in a language in which he is already fluent is much more easily and more quickly achieved than literacy in a second language which must first be taught. However, in view of the multiplicity of the languages in the Territory, setting up a literacy programmes in each of the vernaculars, producing the literacy materials and training suitable instructors, are all difficult, expensive and time consuming activities. Few of the vernaculars can be used as effective means of communications between a significant number of people and between the people and the government, and translation and publication in the many vernaculars would not be economic. Hence the practical benefits accruing from literacy in most of the vernaculars is minimal and does not justify the use of scarce national resources for this purpose as an end in itself. The lingua franca , because they are indigenous, are more regular and more closely related to the vernacular, phonetic and similar instructure and the cultural orientation of the vocabulary and idiom to the vernaculars than English. Hence they are easier to learn and more widely used which in turn, increases the opportunity to learn. With little active promotion or teaching they, and especially Pidgin, have spread to meet the need for communication beyond the vernacular level. The lingua francas are used as the effective means of communication by government and other agencies at the village level and are recognised with English in the House of Assembly. However, as Police Motu and Pidgin are regional in distribution and literature written or translated into either language is limited and very basic, neither is considered at present adequate as a national language. It is for these reasons that the Administration has selected English as the universal language and universal literacy in English as the long term aim. Though literacy in the vernacular or lingua franca leads to this goal, government assistance to these programmes is not warranted.

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* Population Census 1966. Preliminary Bulletin No. 20. Bureau of Statistics. Port Moresby.

There is, however, emperical evidence to support the belief that persons who are literate in one language can make themselves literate, without special instruction for the transfer, in a second language in which they are fluent. The experience with school children and others who have been taught English and have become literate in English first, indicates that the transfer of literacy is reversible from a third language to the lingua franca and the vernacular. This transfer is easier when both languages are phonetic and their orthographies are designed to facilitate this transfer. This has been possible and attempted with vernacular and the lingua francas, both of which have only recently been reduced to written form. Last year, a conference of interested parties was held in Port Moresby to consider further standardisation of the Pidgin orthography. Unfortunately we cannot do much about English, but orthographies of the other languages have been planned as closely on English as possible.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics which works exclusively in selected vernaculars, is producing diglot (vernacular and Pidgin) and some polyglot (including English) literacy and reading materials to provide the encouragement and opportunity for students to affect the transfer. The Department of Education is at present assisting a programme in the Markham Local Government area, conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, to ascertain the likely success of this approach.

In spite of the possibility of this transfer and the social and psychological advantages which flow from developing literacy in the adult's own language first, mounting and sustaining vernacular literacy programmes have proved difficult and expensive.

The Department of Education has supported two literacy projects in association with a church group and the local government council which aimed to commence initially in the vernacular and to subsequently progress to Pidgin and English. However, neither was successful in reaching the second stage, and literacy in the vernacular has not been sustained significantly in the absence of further reading material being produced in the vernacular. The output of trained teachers is insufficient to meet the needs of the school system and the teachers frequently have to teach outside their linguistic area, hence, literacy projects in the vernacular have to depend upon semi-literate vernacular speakers as instructors. These instructors lack the general education background to do more than impart the basic literacy skills and cannot implement a broader functional literacy programme. Their students who have little immediate use for literacy and who also lack the educational background and learning experience needed to enable them to learn for themselves from written material, quickly become disenchanted with the literacy programme and its limited benefits.

The supervisor of a vernacular project has the key role in its success. He has to plan the programme, design and produce the literacy materials and other teaching aids, recruit, select and train the instructors,

stimulate and maintain the interest of the instructors, the adult students and the community, establish instructional centres and closely supervise the programme once launched, continuously evaluating and modifying the programme and the materials, and provide further training for the instructors and replacements for those who discontinue or prove unsatisfactory. The supervisor must be an experienced teacher with linguistic training, fluent in the vernacular and with the necessary personal and leadership qualities and a genuine interest in the people and the programme. He must be prepared to visit frequently the instructors and their classes in the villages, which normally involves walking considerable distances over difficult terrain, and often staying in the villages. Such people are rare but indispensable and mostly irreplaceable.

The Education Department, the Local Government Council and other interested organisations can provide moral, financial and material support, but a vernacular literacy programme depends upon the availability of a competent supervisor continuously for at least a two year period, if it is to achieve any significant and lasting results in the area.

In the two projects, which the Department sponsored, it was the enforced absence of the supervisors without a competent replacement which lead to the collapse of the projects and the Department's subsequent reluctance to support any similar vernacular literacy project in future.

Literacy in the lingua franca, particularly Pidgin, in areas where it is known, is more feasible and more useful. Teachers and other educated persons, who are fluent in that language, are readily available to conduct and maintain continuity of the programme. Only one set of literacy programme material has to be prepared and printed and, in fact, the Lutheran Church has done this. An increasing amount of material is being published in Pidgin, including two newspapers and an edition of the Bible, which encourages the attainment and retention of literacy.

However, as mentioned earlier, 64% of the population are not Pidgin speakers and it is preferable in these areas to attempt the direct teaching of English as far as possible. It is in the field of literacy in English that the Department of Education has been most active. Last year there were some 1100 Papuans and New Guineans attending English classes. But learning English as a second language is a difficult task even under favourable circumstances and only those adults who are highly motivated and conscientious, prepared to perservere for up to two years and are working or living in an English speaking environment, do succeed. It is doubtful if more than 1,500 over the past four years have been successful, but this number should expand with the trend towards urbanisation and the increasing number of English speakers being produced through the primary schools (over 100,000 in the same period). However, attention has to be given to measures ensuring the retention of literacy in English by these children who leave at the end of primary school and who remain in rural, non-English speaking areas.

It is hoped that, with the recent appointment of the Officer-in-Charge of the Literature Bureau of the Department of Information and Extension Services, an urgently needed supply of suitable and inexpensive reading material will become available for these school leavers and the adult new literates in English. Nevertheless, the time spent on those who do not complete the English programme is not necessarily wasted. They can benefit from the general educational section included in the course; they can gain useful insight into the problems and processes of learning which may assist them as parents of children attending school and they may incidentally achieve some transfer of literacy into the language(s) in which they are already fluent.

As mentioned at the outset, universal literacy in English is one of the aims of the Administration, but because of the linguistic complexities, this will only be achieved in the long term by developing the economy and so financing the expansion of primary education. In the meantime, any literacy programme must contribute towards this development. Organisations such as churches and the Summer Institute of Linguistics who can work within one language group, no doubt will continue to further adult literacy in selected vernaculars and the lingua francas.

The Department of Education, with the support of interested individuals and community groups, will concentrate its efforts on extending literacy in English by programmes in selected areas and for selected groups, by encouraging the retention of literacy amongst the primary school leavers and by developing improved methods of teaching English as a second language. A measure of the importance of the latter in the Territory was the early establishment of a Chair of English Language within the University of Papua and New Guinea.

COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT IN PAPUA & NEW GUINEA

W.G. Sippo

1. DEVELOPMENT:

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in recent years there has been a great deal of talk about development. But the bulk of the speakers seem not to be very clear on what is to be understood by the word, and where they are reasonably clear they seem often to be in competition with each other for acceptance of their own private theories of what development is and how it may be measured. We are variously asked to consider per capita income, number of cars per family, educational opportunity, life expectancy, respect for law, and many other measures; we are rarely told, by those supporting a particular theory, of the problems associated with undue concentration on that theory. It is undoubted fact that most of those who have been urging development upon us have concentrated their advice on rather narrowly economic factors. We have often been urged to concentrate on production and the making of large sums of money, and to this end to direct the bulk of resources towards factors which the particular urger believes to be economic.

There is no doubt that such an approach will cause change. There is very grave doubt as to whether it can achieve progress. Surely development must mean more than change. It must involve progress - progress of the people. If the people do not live, or believe they are living or working towards a better life, then surely we have not achieved development. Whatever development may mean, however, it ought to be measured, surely its purpose, and the justification of the effort, must lie in its effect on the people. And people in this context must mean the over-whelming bulk of ordinary members of society, not merely a select few.

It is here that the narrowly based economic approach encounters trouble. People are not standard units of production, to be treated as constants in an equation worked out somewhere else. They are individuals, with a culture and a social structure which limits the possible range of their reactions to proposed changes, and makes it unwise to assume that what works in one country will work in the same way in another where the cultural base is significantly different. Economic policy can operate only within relatively narrow social tolerances, and social factors can be ignored or under-emphasised only at the cost of jeopardising the whole development programme.

2. *INCREASED RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL FACTORS:*

Considerations of this kind led, in July 1969, to the establishment of a Department of Social Development and Home Affairs in Papua and New Guinea. Within the Department is a Division of Social Development, which includes among its responsibilities, community development and social services. Before that date, these functions were undertaken by a Division of the former Department of District Administration. The new Division has broader responsibilities within a Department established for the specific purpose of increasing the emphasis on social development.

The Department has not been long formed and its ultimate organisation is still under discussion. It has a small field staff of community development officers and welfare officers in a number of Territory centres, though not yet in all 18 districts, and nowhere enough to meet the demands. The work of these officers is directed by a small Headquarters staff which deals with co-ordination and policy formulation.

Papua and New Guinea has a Five Year Development Plan which establishes certain economic goals. Published papers indicate areas of land to be brought into production, types of crops to be grown, infra-structure to be established, and things of this kind. They do not pretend to describe how the various targets are to be achieved, or the place of the local people in the programme. The Department of Social Development and Home Affairs has been established because of a belief that the local people must be enabled to play a major role in the plan; that targets will not be achieved unless social factors are given their full weight; that there must be a greatly expanded programme of community education and association of local people in decision taking, allied with remedial work to assist those who falter.

3. *CO-ORDINATION:*

The Social Development Division is not, and would never pretend to be, the only organisation with responsibilities in the field of community development. The Department of Public Health, Agriculture Stock and Fisheries, Information and Extension Services, Education, Administration and Trade and Industry all have considerable roles to play. Other Departments are also involved. The role of many voluntary agencies is also most important and they are encouraged to participate fully in development.

Community advancement will not be maximised if social development is treated as a narrowly specialised technical function, to be ignored by all who are not specifically responsible for it. It is necessary that the whole approach to administration be based upon an awareness of social factors as well as other factors. It needs to be understood that the way a thing is done is no less important than what is done. It is necessary also that the various specialists do not operate in isolation, without regard to what others are doing. Activity must be carried out within an approved policy frame-work and must be co-ordinated.

There are institutionalised means of gaining ends at both Territory and District level. At Territory level the House of Assembly has full legislative power subject to an overriding power vested in the Commonwealth of Australia. The top policy making body is the Administrator's Executive Council, comprising certain official and elected Members of the House of Assembly, and with the elected members in the majority. There is an Inter-Departmental Co-ordinating Committee comprising Heads of Departments. There are other specialised Committees to deal with certain particular matters, and ad hoc committees formed as necessary. At District level, each District has a District Co-ordinating Committee consisting of the senior representatives in the District of the main development departments. There is also a limited number of specialised committees. Through these institutions, an attempt is made to apply realistic and consistent policies in the field.

4. MOBILISING LOCAL RESOURCES:

There is clearly a major task of motivation to stimulate action of a kind which will outlast the presence of an officer in the immediate area. But more is necessary. We must try to ensure that achievements do not collapse when the first flush of enthusiasm wears off. Activity of the kind outlines is possible only with mobilisation of local resources, and organisation of local people for decision taking and action. Much can be done with various ad hoc organisations, and these are appropriate in many cases. Nevertheless, where local organisation is needed on a considerable scale, where action is envisaged which will involve permanent maintenance or inspection, where regulation or enforcement attuned to local needs is likely to be required, then local government becomes a vital part of the development programme.

A great deal of our programme is, and must be, implemented by or through local government, which must be strong and independent to be effective. Despite this, all our activities are not and should not be implemented through local government. In some fields its enforcement powers can be damaging. Again, it would be improper to encourage any organisation to intervene in all aspects of the lives of its members, lest the organisation tend towards the over-regulatory "Big Brother" approach, and lest the people lost their sense of direct responsibility. There is, further, a great deal of social value in the existence of a network of associations, each for its own purposes, and with interlocking membership. To this end we encourage and support such bodies as co-operatives, youth clubs, women's clubs, sporting clubs, village progress societies, welfare societies, and the like, for all have a place in development and can contribute to it.

5. SOME MAJOR PROGRAMMES:

For several years we have been running a series of short courses called Community Education courses. Each lasts from one to two weeks, and is usually attended by married couples. The courses are designed to increase the awareness of village people concerning the modern world, to help them understand something of the range of possibilities open to them, and some of the means of realising those possibilities. This, it is hoped, will enable them to have better control of the direction of their development. Programmes are designed to provide material of interest to both men and women, with separate classes for some subjects. There is a broad similarity between courses, but details vary in accordance with the needs and wishes of the area from which participants are drawn. Six thousand eight hundred village people have so far attended such courses. We have not been able to make a thorough survey to determine their effectiveness. A number of spot checks suggest that a good deal is either forgotten or not applied, but that nevertheless some material is retained. Effectiveness appears to depend on a number of factors, including the character and ability of the participants, the social conditions in his home area, the relevance of course content to the home area, the presentation of material, and follow up reinforcement.

Another broad educational activity of particular importance is our programme for the advancement of women. It was found that women tended to lag behind men in their progress towards a more modern society, and a deliberate effort is being made to correct this. The programme operates through the wide introduction of women's clubs, supported by short training courses for village women. Officers visit the clubs regularly to help them maintain a programme which retains the interest of members and at the same time aids their development. Useful skills and knowledge are promulgated through a badge scheme under which badges are awarded for specified achievements which cover a wide range of subjects. Voluntary workers also assist women's clubs and receive books, materials and advice to support their efforts. There are at present some 900 women's clubs of various degrees of permanence and a wide range of effectiveness.

The training courses for women vary in length from a week to three months depending upon the need from time to time and from place to place. They teach selected aspects of low level home economies, plus other subjects as may be needed. Some 10,000 women have attended such courses. Local Government Councils assist this programme by employment of female welfare assistants. The Social Development Division operates two training centres at which these assistants are given a one year course to fit them for the task. The course largely comprises home economics, extension methods, and leadership.

Three courses have been held to train youth workers for employment by councils. This programme is still experimental. We have not yet finally determined the most suitable length of course, curriculum, entry standards, etc. though these are becoming clearer. The aim is to provide workers able to assist young people to integrate themselves into the village life, and assist the village to adjust itself to permit this. It seems clear that multi-purpose workers are needed, and that Councils will need a good deal of support. Under these conditions it seems likely that these workers can become important as village-level links in the community development programme. Development of such links are necessary if the programme is to really reach the people and become their programme.

6. VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS:

The Department of Public Health assists Councils in community advancement by subsidising the construction of rural aid posts, the employment of aid post orderlies, and transport in connection with environmental sanitation. It also assists, jointly with several other Departments, in the provision of improved village water supplies. This is a particularly important aspect of improving village life. Permanent, clean, and safe water represents a significant advance in many areas, and a great deal of time and effort - formerly spent collecting water - is saved. This Department also undertakes health extension work, through a number of health education officers in various centres.

The Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries has Rural Development Officers in all Districts. They are concerned with agricultural development. They undertake as much farmer training and agricultural extension work among the village people as time and circumstances permit. Some Districts also have Animal Husbandry Officers and Fisheries Officers. This Department also subsidises the employment of rural development assistants by Councils.

The Department of Education has an Adult Education Division which deals largely with formal education courses, literacy, and particular skills. Its Technical Education Division is developing a concept of vocational schools which take in students at primary school leaving standard and give them a year's course on a curriculum designed to meet the needs of the particular area. They teach skills useful at village level, designed to improve village life rather than create a tradesman for urban employment. There are problems in gaining acceptance, in finding the right curriculum and the right staff, and in retaining graduates in the village. However, the concept seems a valuable one which can contribute to overall development if operated in association with other activities designed to the same end.

The Department of Trade and Industry undertakes extension work in connection with the co-operative movement. It is developing a business

advisory service in main towns, and has done some work in the promotion of small scale industry. The Department of Information and Extension Services provides support for all the others, through training in extension techniques and through its radio broadcasting division, and through films, publications and various other aids.

7. URBAN AREAS:

Towns in the Territory suffer from problems similar to those encountered elsewhere. That is, migration from rural areas at a rate outstripping the growth of employment. Squatter settlements develop, occupied by people with very low income and without title to the land they therefore usually live in low standard houses and in an overcrowded condition with few of the necessary town services. The numbers, the poverty, the over-crowding and the other conditions are none of them so bad as are found in many other underdeveloped countries, but action is necessary to prevent them worsening, and to bring about improvement. A recent survey shows that in the seven major towns there are some 43,000 squatters. Several resettlement projects are under way, designed to give householders title to a building block, encourage building of a house to the best standard he can achieve, and provide at least the minimum services necessary.

Within the towns also, there are problems arising from the need to establish new community feeling to replace that left behind in the village, and assist villagers to understand the essentials of urban life. Sympathetic contact, interest, explanations, club programmes and the like are essential. There are growing numbers of youngsters unable to go to high school but too young for employment, who must be assisted. Three experimental centres are being conducted in Port Moresby for these people to find programmes and methods which will maintain their morale and improve their employability by developing regular habits.

8. OTHER PROGRAMMES:

Support is given to voluntary agencies such as Scouts, Guides, YMCA, YWCA, St. John's Ambulance, and others to assist their programmes with the people. This support includes grants in aid in many cases. A Sports Development Board has been established in each of the 18 Districts and each receives an annual grant-in-aid to assist in its task of developing sport throughout the District.

Further assistance is given through our Works Programme each year in providing basic engineering facilities needed for sport. The Works programme also provides each year a sum of money in support of projects nominated and partly funded by Local Government Councils.

An aspect of community advancement sometimes forgotten is that of political education. It is not enough that a few leaders learn how to

run the country. The ordinary people need to understand their political institutions and how to use them. For this reason a widespread political education programme is under way. In each district an officer of the District Administration Division has been detached from general duties and made responsible for this work. Books, radio programmes, films, and articles are used to support the activity.

In addition to developmental activity, remedial work is necessary to assist those unable to cope with their changing situation. Child Welfare services and allowances, and incapacitated ex-servicemen's pensions are on a statutory basis. Ex gratia pensions and allowances are given wherever a need is found and sustained by investigation. Welfare officers provide a casework service to deal with problems raised by individuals. This is an aspect of our work which is growing rapidly and is a valuable support to our group developmental work.

9. EPILOGUE:

The need to give proper weight to social factors is being increasingly recognised as the Territory's level of advancement and rate of progress increases - though the quantifying of these factors remains a difficulty. For this reason the value of community development methods is being increasingly recognised. In simpler days it was perhaps less popular because a community development approach is not the easiest or fastest method. To assemble data, take a decision, and issue appropriate orders is clear cut, quick, efficient in the short term. On the other hand, to educate people, stimulate them to exercise initiative, advise in carrying out their plans, is comparatively slower, more difficult and frustrating to the anxious officer who no longer has the details of the action under his immediate control. The second method, however, must be counted the better one, for our aim is not quick completion of a limited number of particular material projects without regard to whether they may be used and maintained. Our aim is development - a bigger and broader concept essentially human in its nature.

The type of activity outlined here is no panacea. It will not cure all our ills overnight. But it can do better than any other method available. If it can be stepped up, we may hope that life in the villages, and in rural and urban settlements, may be improved. That is to say, we may have achieved real development - not simply change but real progress towards a better life for the people of this country.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT

N. Hatton

1. NEW GUINEA: Some Aspects of the Advancement Problem -

The people of New Guinea are predominantly subsistence farmers, living in small villages or hamlets, often quite isolated from others. Of the estimated population of two million, less than 10% are urban dwellers, compared with say Australia, where close to 70% of the population live in the capital cities, including the Newcastle-Sydney-Wollongong complex, another 20% live in large towns and cities, and less than 10% could be classed as rural dwellers. In the Highlands, many of the hamlets, usually situated amid gardens, may contain less than 20 persons, while villages with 1,000 people on the coast are considered very large indeed.

There are many different languages, estimates ranging from 500 to 700, and this in itself poses an almost incomprehensible barrier to any kind of advancement towards cohesion as a single nation. Again, the size of groups speaking any vernacular range from the rare large groups, eg. 50-80,000 speaking Enga or Chimbu in the Highlands, to extremely small groups, eg. 150 speaking Som in the hinterland of the Rai Coast near Madang. There are only two languages with wider applications than a tribal group, namely Police Motu, used throughout Papua, and Pidgin, or Neo-Melanesian, the use of which is rapidly spreading throughout the whole of the Territory, probably spoken now by 25% of the population.

The cultures of New Guinea are essentially non-literate, based on oral traditions passed on from generation to generation. At a maximum, 2% of the population would be in some measure literate in English, and at most 5% literate in Pidgin, or one of the vernaculars, as compared for instance with Australia, where a maximum of 2% would not be literate. While the evidence is necessary for permanent literacy in English, one could only hazard a guess at one or two years being necessary to achieve literacy in Pidgin, but whatever the period, any attainment of literacy depends on the continued exercise of the skills involved, particularly reading.

- You have already been informed of progress in adult education to date, in a general sense, and in one particular direction, namely the Army. To just select and re-emphasise a few of the efforts, let me present the following: radio broadcasting has been regionalised, with a number of local radio stations broadcasting in vernaculars, and Pidgin; papers have a widespread urban distribution, but even the Administration paper, "Our News", has little impact in the rural communities; Missions, concentrating their efforts in particular areas, have undertaken some clear lines of development, though such are sually directed towards their central purpose. However, significant contributions have been made to adult education in health, business matters, and involving local issues. One need only say that the problem is enormous, and that little impression has been made to date. The problem is compounded by the sheer difficulties of communication in such a rugged country.

2. FORMAL SCHOOLING: One Aspect of Advancement -

- Avoiding the issues of appropriateness of education to the people and their needs, let me just present the situation as it is, and might be in the next few years.

-	*Enrolment in Prep., 1963*	*Enrolment in St.VI, 1969*	*Enrolment in Form I, 1970*	*Estimated in F.IV, 1973*
ADMIN.	*8,000*	*8,500*	*4,500*	*2,000*
MISSION	*38,000*	*8,500*	*3,500*	*1,500*
TOTAL	*46,000*	*17,000*	*8,000*	*3,500*

- The figures presented indicate some of the trends. There is a very large drop-out of students between Prep. and St.VI. Some of the mission proportion is re-absorbed into the Administration system. There are places in secondary schools, because of staffing and cost factors, for less than half the primary graduates, and this fraction is decreasing. One can well ask, what happens to the school leavers?

Unfortunately, there is again little evidence, and we have to rely on some informed guesses. Firstly, at the very early stages, it appears that children are absorbed back into the subsistence group. However, there are clear indications that by the time the child reaches St.VI both he and his parents have very clear expectations about what he will do now he is "educated". Their aspirations lie in the directions of clerical, technical, even professional roles. Very few have accepted, or will accept, the possibility of returning to the village. If they do not get a place in a secondary school, they gravitate towards urban centres.

Missions, and more recently, the Administration, have tried to encourage return to the village by opening vocational schools, where students might develop skills usuable in the village environment. But the evidence suggests that again, such skills are seen as marketable only in the towns. In a survey conducted by the teacher in charge of the Baitabag Technical School in 1967, for example, it was found that of some hundreds of lads who had received specific skills training (all with no more than St.IV education), only one was putting those skills into practice in his home village.

Today, with the growth of urban centres, particularly as ports and industrial centres, there is employment for students, who go on to secondary education, though again the jobs available often do not match the aspirations of, say, the Form II leaver, who today will probably be employed as a labourer or semi-skilled assistant. As yet, the demands in terms of manpower requirements for Form III and IV graduates remain unfilled. Agriculture, particularly in connection with commercial crops, medical services, technical, trade, and mechanical occupations, all seek these students. For some years now, the quotas set for teacher-trainees at these levels have not been met, partly because other professions and private enterprise opportunities are more attractive in terms of salary and working conditions. This latter point should be kept in mind when one considers the teacher in the rural community.

The composition of the current teaching service will throw some further light on the role teachers can play, or be expected to play, in community advancement. The figures given below are for 1969, and are for Primary schools only, (taken from the Weeden Report).

Teachers' Qualification		*Admin*	*Mission*	*Total*
Expatriate:	*Trained T.C.*	*354*	*447*	*801*
	Permit to teach	*-*	*101*	*101*
Local	*'C' Course*	*206*	*222*	*428*
	'B' Course	*797*	*636*	*1,433*
	'A' Course	*898*	*2,441*	*3,339*
	Permit to teach	*-*	*439*	*439*
		2,255	*4,286*	*6,541*

Thus a large proportion of teachers in the Territory Primary Schools are 'A' Course graduates, and have had six years of Primary education, with, in some cases, one or two of secondary, then one year of teacher training. 'B' course graduates usually have three years of secondary, plus one or two years of teacher training. 'C' Course teachers have passed Form IV, and completed two years of training.

We should attempt to look at our teachers in the situation in which they find themselves when posted to a rural primary school, a highly likely event

for the bulk of them. They had a minimum of seven years away from their home village environment. The 'C' Course teacher has spent 12 years away from his, the last six generally in boarding institutions, often in urban centres. He has had a taste of urban life, and generally hankers after it. His motivation to teach is generally no sharper than a vague desire 'to help my people'. In the case of the Administration teacher, he will not be sent to his own area, as a matter of policy. The influence of the family and "WANTOK" group will follow him wherever he goes, and would probably be too great at home, at least, that is the administrative assumption. When he arrives at a school, he will be held in suspicion until he proves himself Should he "fail", in terms of the local values which may be quite different from his own, then he will never be a power for any kind of advancement in that community. Should the teacher be a single girl, the probems seem to be multiplied, both in relation to the local people, and to New Guineans from other areas working there. It should be apparent that the expatriate teacher would have other kinds of adjustment problems as well, though he would generally be readily accepted at least initially.

3. THE TEACHER: His Role in Community Advancement -

- The community has very high expectations of the teacher in his school role - in fact such expectations and those of education in general may be unrealistic, and at times not far removed from another kind of "cargo cult". education providing the new ritual for gaining control over the material world. As in the Australian situation, it will be the teacher's fault if the "kid fails". As an obvious and basic starting point, the teacher must set about establishing his competence in the classroom, and the school role. It should be noted that some of the current questioning about the suitability of the education currently being given, as measured against the needs of the community, have originated with local teachers in rural schools, (in some cases, with teachers turned politicians). The teacher's relations with parents, and others in the community, will be a basis for discussion on, and clarification of, the purposes of the school.

There can be no doubt that schools and teachers have served, to date, as an examplar of new ideas, standards and practices. It is hard to gauge the effect of a good model of hygiene, cleanliness, or toilet habits, but it has been long assumed that the school and it teachers must set a model and maintain decent standards in these matters.

More recently, and still in this examplar role, teachers have worked to introduce new ideas in other directions. The diversification of food crops, with a view to improving diet by introducing new and attractive alternatives such as corn, tomatoes, beans, has served a twofold purpose, getting across new ideas through the children's stomachs, and keeping the

children involved in agricultural pursuits. The improvement of agricultural techniques and cash cropping is a more delicate issue. It appears that there is little the New Guinean subsistence farmer can be taught about growing his traditional crops. But the introduction of new methods in regard to keeping pigs, or poultry, has been attempted by some schools, though again with what impact on the community it is hard to say. Also, alternative cash crops have been started with notable success for the school itself, in the case of tea in the Highlands, or peppers on the coast, for instance, but again, just how much of a factor the school is in the introduction of new crops is difficult to determine.

There are certain trends and current issues which seem to me to provide some guidelines for future developments. These will be outlined as possible points for discussion, and must be considered as very much my personal view, rather than an assessment of official policies.

A. *A leadership role in local affairs* - The Department of Education espouses a policy of leaving teachers in the one area for at least two or three years, and longer, unless a transfer is requested. At the same time, responsibility for building and maintaining local Primary Schools has passed almost completely over to local communities, usually through the Local Government Council. While District Inspectors have a responsibility to supervise these activities, it seems to be a situation where the participation of the teachers could give clear direction to local efforts, with regard to improving school facilities. Such a concept may be foreign to Australians, and others used to clear cut division of responsibilities between various government departments. But many schools are so far away from the administrative power centres that the only real hope of improvement lies with the local community and its own resources. There are numerous examples showing how this leadership can be exercised in providing buildings, libraries, sports fields, houses, ablution blocks, equipment and finance. Also, such efforts surely contribute to the development of national feeling, and the breaking down of traditional barriers against those outside the immediate kinship group.

B. *An active role in literacy development* - Administration policy has been to foster the teaching of English, and in terms of those who reach secondary schooling, this has paid off. But apart from certain missions, little consideration has been given to what will happen to those who drop out - a majority in fact - along the way. There seem to me a number of alternatives. (i) Concentrate on English literacy in the last two years of primary school. (ii) Run classes in English literacy for those who do not make High School, with an orientation towards the local community and perhaps some concentration upon useful skills. However, probably both of these are rather impractical. (iii) There must be a place somewhere

for the teaching of Pidgin, and accompanying reading and writing skills. Perhaps it could be done with older children who are simply not making the grade by St. IV. It seems an obvious need, and one which could gainfully employ many of the current 'A' Course teachers and holders of permits to teach, many of whom have such a poor level of English that they are doing more harm than good at present teaching same. Many of these are older men, well respected and accepted where they are working, but with little opportunity for advancement because of their poor educational background. This work could be extended to adults, though there is in my mind a lingering doubt about how far you can get with older, completely illiterate people in achieving competence in reading and writing. Certainly our efforts to date have been rather unfruitful. However, with younger children or adults who have had limited schooling, literacy in Pidgin seems to me a needed and attainable target. It is a vexing question as far as teaching in English is concerned, for it can be shown that the learning of Pidgin interferes with the learning of English in a number of ways. The answer to my mind would involve an approach distinct from current schooling for children of the right age group and would not entail literacy for all in Pidgin before starting with English. Those who go on with education in English are always able to use reading and writing skills in their own language.

C. *A distributor role for materials* – In my opinion, in a country where communications are so difficult, the place of the teacher and his school in the distribution of all kinds of educative and reading materials has been largely overlooked. This point is, of course, related to preceding ones, for it has been stressed that literacy is a matter of continuing practice with the skills gained. What better centre than the school for such materials to be gathered? What better person than the accepted teacher to explain and interpret? The availability of materials in plentiful and variegated supply might be at least a slight inducement for St.VI leavers to stay in the local community. Some church schools, and a few Administration counterparts, already fulfil this role in a limited way. While there are obvious dangers, current events and political developments are matters requiring greater exposure in New Guinea, in its rapid drive towards independence. The use of a locally built structure such as a library or hall for these activities should only strengthen further the bonds between school and community.

D. *A co-ordinating role for local activities* - This would be a systematic extension of what is already happening in many schools, though again there are signs that teachers can become over-involved to the detriment of their classroom responsibilities. Teachers often provide the necessary leadership and technical skills for the establishment of various sporting activities

and facilities in a community. Women netball (7-aside-basket-ball) is an example. Teachers can foster local arts and crafts by calling in older men and women to teach these in the curriculum of the school. Such activities might well be useful in a Pidgin programme for more mature people. Many of the traditional skills are being lost as men leave the village for education or to earn money and it seems their mastery depends on time and practice. The old religious motives may be gone, but perhaps the school can provide alternative, just by being available, encouraging participation, providing facilities, and perhaps seeking outlets for saleable work. Among the possibilities in this direction are, according to the area, weaving, carving, pottery, basketwork, artifact making and design work. Some schools, too, are the centre for infant welfare clinics, or periodic health and dental visits and this seems quite appropriate. The provision of entertainment and some broadening of horizons can be achieved through film evenings and, again, the school and its facilities could provide the setting.

Lest there be misinterpretation, may I clearly spell out that I do not see a missionary role for those involved in Community Advancement. So often in the past, individuals have assumed a reforming role and superficially re-organised everything. The climate is not currently right for such approaches, even if they were correct and the failure of such ventures in the past suggests that they were not. In the culture contact situation which is NewGuinea, a situation reaching now to the remotest village where there is selection, integrating such features as its members choose into existing cultural frameworks. Those with decision powers in Mission and Administration can only make value judgements about what to offer for selection, not what will be incorporated into the evolving New Guinea culture.

Such offerings have been included in what I see as present and possible roles for the teacher in community advancement. They are realistic, in the sense that they could be extensions of present activities being undertaken by a host of Departments and Divisions and Bodies, but often without a point of contact with the local community. To me, the school is a very obvious and already proven effective point of contact. What I have suggested are alsc natural outgrowths of the role of the teacher in relation to the realities of the community around him. In western societies, all too often these roles have been put into little boxes and the teacher has sought to disassociate himself from them. For all sorts of reasons, such an approach must be avoided in New Guinea, particularly in the rural community, where the school is a means of social change in every sense of the term.

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FINANCIAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT IN PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

E.V. Fleming

To appreciate the problems involved in financial education and community advancement in Papua and New Guinea, one must first look at the overall stage which the Territory has reached in its development.

Perhaps the most graphic indication of this is the state of literacy and education of the people. A recent survey in 1966 indicated that about 30 per cent of the indigenous population of 2.3 million had attended school to some level; however, only about 1.3 per cent (30,000) had completed a full primary education, and only about half of this number had gone on to receive a secondary education. About 4,600 or 0.2 per cent of the indigenous population had reached a reasonable standard of secondary education. It is not difficult then, to appreciate the extent to which this lack of formal education affects the problem of providing education any easier by the existence in the Territory of 700 separate dialects or languages, which accentuate the problem of communication.

In recent years increasing emphasis has been given to economic development. By 1966, it was estimated that 80 per cent of the people were either fully monetised or at least partly in the money economy. Much of the transition to this stage has occurred in comparatively recent years. The spread of monetisation has, of course, posed some problems for Papuans and New Guineans, many of whom have been given for the first time the opportunity to earn money, to spend it and to save it. Without the benefit of any previous education or experience in the handling of money, it is not surprising that many people have little idea of money values or of making the best use of the money they earn.

There is plenty of evidence of this in the significant amounts of money which are hoarded in the villages. (While the exact amount hoarded is not known, a reasonable estimate might be $2 million to $3 million). Other indicators of the need for some education in the value and use of money, and in other financial topics, have been such things as the continued preference of the village people for coin over notes, some of their rather

naive trading methods at their local markets, and their ignorance of broader economic factors, such as the causes of fluctuations in prices of exported goods.

The problem of accelerating economic development implies a need to provide incentives for people not yet fully monetized to want to do work to earn money. They must overcome their traditional preference for leisure. One way of doing this is to provide opportunities for them to buy goods and services which they desire. Once a demand for goods such as cooking utensils, steel implements, mosquito nets, bedding, kerosene lamps etc. has been created, the villager is much more eager to want to work to provide the necessary money to buy these goods. The encouragement of establishment of small retail trade stores throughout the Territory is one important part of the overall strategy of economic development.

As well as providing incentives for people to earn money, it is of course, necessary to provide the means. This is being done in a number of ways, the main one being the encouragement of growing cash crops such as coconut, cocoa, coffee, rubber and tea.

As central bank with responsibility in Papua and New Guinea as well as Australia, the Reserve Bank has had a continuing interest in all aspects of financial and economic development in the Territory. It has been particularly concerned to see that steps were taken to improve Papuans' and New Guineans' understanding of the financial system into which economic development was drawing them. And it has been concerned also to see that the types of financial institutions which have evolved in the Territory have been of a type best suited to the country's needs.

In an endeavour to satisfy these major interests, the Reserve Bank embarked during the 1960's on a programme which had four specific objectives:

1. To help improve financial education among Papuans and New Guineans.
2. To provide ways for Papuans and New Guineans to gain practical experience in running some forms of financial enterprises.
3. To mobilize at least some of the funds reported as being "hoarded" in villages.
4. To provide access to small-scale credit for Papuans and New Guineans.

The programme has been tackled as two main activities - financial education and the savings and loan society movement.

Financial Education.

- From the commencement of the programme it was felt that the most effective approach to financial education of Papuans and New Guineans would be through booklets and films. Although the concept of the programme was that

it should be directed at Papuans and New Guineans in general, it soon became apparent that, as staff resources were limited, it would be necessary to direct efforts where they would achieve the quickest and most effective results.

The initial part of the programme was concentrated on secondary school students per medium of booklets, films and talks. Booklets entitled "Your Money", "What is Wealth?", "Prices", "Keeping a Cheque Account", and "Banks and Banking", were prepared and some 300,000 copies have been distributed to date. The texts have been regularly revised, sometimes substantially, prior to their re-printing.

"Your Money" describes the functions and attributes of money and the benefits of saving. "What is Wealth?" describes the concept of wealth, wealth accumulation, community wealth and cultural wealth. "Prices" traces the process by which prices are set, and the reasons why prices fluctuate from time to time, and considers in elementary fashion the conditions of supply and demand. "Banks and Banking" discusses the reasons why different types of banks have developed and describes their functions in the community and the services they provide.

"Your Money" and "What is Wealth?" were translated into other languages (Pidgin English and Police Motu) and small numbers of these versions were produced for distribution to adults. However, the translated booklets have not had as much impact among adults as was hoped because of the low level of literacy and the complexity of the subject.

To supplement the booklets, material was prepared also for the guidance of teachers in the presentation of the subject matter contained in the booklets.

Whilst the Financial Education Programme has continued to be directed mainly at the secondary school children, there remains a very large adult audience in need of assistance. Apart from the difficulty in providing sufficient staff to service these groups, there is the major problem also of producing material which can be read and understood by the village people. In areas such as Bougainville, this problem is in need of urgent attention in view of the scale and rate of the C.R.A. copper development which is having a tremendous impact on the income level of the local people.

Three films have also been produced as part of the education programme. They are under the titles of "Your Money" and "What is Wealth?" - based on the booklets of the same names, and "The Luluai's Dream" - a story illustrating the dangers of hoarding money and keeping it hidden in the house rather than putting it in the bank. These films are shown extensively to secondary school children, and also to adult groups using translated sound tracks. More recently, the films have been reaching a wider audience as copies have been circulated, together with a kit comprising prepared talks, visual aids, etc. on "circuit tours" so that teachers themselves can use the films. Previously, the films were normally screened by an officer of the Reserve Bank.

In addition, to the original booklet "Banks and Banking" a number of specialised pamphlets have recently been added covering such topics as trading and savings banks, borrowing money from banks, using cheques, etc. In this form, more flexibility in using the material will be possible and a wider range of school children should be able to benefit. A booklet on the role of the Reserve Bank in Papua and New Guinea has been prepared in English and in Pidgin English.

A booklet "Investment", introduced in 1968, was the first to be aimed essentially at the adult group. Discussing ways of investing money in Papua and New Guinea, it was prepared in both English and Pidgin English, with 8,000 copies of each being distributed. In addition, the Bank has also combined with the Department of Trade and Industry in the production of a series of three booklets dealing with "Trucking". These discuss the establishment and management of a truck business, and the maintaining of accounting records.

Close liaison is maintained with the Territory's Education Department and the Bank is represented on various panels relating to the teaching of Commerce.

The Savings and Loan Society Scheme.

At the beginning of the 1960's there was in Papua and New Guinea no more than the embryo of a financial system. There was clearly a need to construct a system capable of meeting the special needs of the Territory at this early stage of development. Apart from the need, discussed above, to assist Papuans and New Guineans to understand the role of money and the operation of the money economy, it was also important that they should actually participate in grass-roots level financial institutions which could serve the combined purpose of education, of meeting practical financial needs and, through the experience thus gained, they could be introduced to the more sophisticated financial institutions.

These, in effect, were some of the principal requirements seen by the Reserve Bank of Australia when, in 1962, it accepted responsibility for the promotion and guidance of the savings and loan society scheme in Papua and New Guinea. It believed that these societies could make a significant contribution towards this task of evolving a suitable financial system and could aid significantly the transition from the subsistence sector to the money economy.

Savings and loan societies are virtually the same as credit unions, the name more commonly given to this type of organisation, in other parts of the world, particularly the United States, Canada and a number of South American countries and Fiji.

The concept of savings and loan societies is very simple. They consist of groups of adult Papuans and New Guineans who join together to

pool their regular savings into a central fund out of which loans can be given to those members who seek them for productive and provident purposes. The members, of whom there must be at least 20, must have some common bond of interest, such as belonging to the same clan or village, attending the same church of being employed together. The average size of societies in Papua and New Guinea is about 50 members.

By 30 June, 1969 there were 221 societies in operation with more than 11,000 members and total funds of $781,000. These societies had lent $318,000 to members, a further $116,000 being invested. In addition to the societies there were a further 253 savings clubs, which are informal probationary groups, formed to test out members' ability and keeness to work together. These clubs had almost 10,000 members and some $280,000 in funds.

Loans are given by the societies for a wide range of purposes, provided generally that they will benefit the borrower. They have tended to be mainly for productive purposes, the main ones being purchases of vehicles (usually to assist rather than pay the full price), trading, erection and stocking of trade stores, purchase and clearing of land, purchase of agricultural equipment and erection of copra driers. Of all loans given to June 1969, income-generating loans comprised about 70 per cent. Of the remainder, by far the most important purpose has been to assist erection of houses. Some 80 per cent of non-income-producing loans have been obtained for this purpose.

It has been in the repayment of loans that most of the problems with societies have been met. Much of this difficulty stems from the lack of education of the majority of members and the associated general difficulty of communication.

An important development in the last few years has been the formation of "apex" organisations. Societies have joined together in area Leagues and a Territory-wide Federation to permit some expansion in services to members and to enable acceptance from the Reserve Bank of greater responsibility for conduct of the movement.

To date the movement has revolved mainly about small village-based societies with an emphasis on saving rather than lending. This pattern is starting to change with increasing demands for loans and the establishment of societies based on employment rather than a village or clan relationship.

Overall, savings and loan societies appear to be playing a useful role in Papua and New Guinea's monetisation process, through provision of small-scale credit at the village level and in helping to remould some of the traditional attitudes. Considering the relatively short period since commencement the scheme appears to have mobilised a considerable volume of savings, mostly from current earnings.

The future of the scheme will depend on the extent to which societies are able to fulfil members' needs and on the extent to which members accept their own responsibilities, particularly as borrowers. Both

of these, in turn, will depend heavily on extension and training; of office-bearers in the art of running their society, of meeting members' needs, and the training of members generally.

The problems of adult education and community advancement in Papua and New Guinea are enormous. It is not suggested that the activities of the Reserve Bank in this field have been able to go more than a small part of the way towards solving them. The difficulties of language and illiteracy combine to make it unlikely that there will be any really widespread understanding of the country's financial system at least until the present generation of children have grown up and a higher proportion of the people have passed through the schools. Nevertheless, with self-government and independence likely to be attained before this occurs, it is vital to help Papuans and New Guineans as far as possible to understand their economy and by concentrating efforts where they can make the greatest achievements, a worthwhile benefit is resulting.

ARMY EDUCATION IN PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Lt. Col. R.T. Jones

INTRODUCTION

Education and the Armed Services

1. The primary role of education in the armed services is related to the production of trained manpower. In this role, educational effort is employed in programmes designed to develop the 'trainability' of the individual soldier (by making good, deficiencies in his formal education to the level required by the service) and in programmes of formal education in direct support of other service training activities.

2. While in educational terms this vocationally-supportive role is rather narrow, it must be recognised that the services do not normally contract, either legally or morally, to offer their members opportunities for further education which are better than, or even equal to those available to other members of the community. The fact that the services generally do extend the roles of their educational services into the field of further education is as much due to what may be called 'service reasons' as to any particular determination to make a specific service contribution to education generally. These 'service reasons' include the need to maintain morale, the need to inform the serviceman on matters related to his own role and responsibilities in the service and the community, and the need to ensure that the serviceman can eventually return to life in the community without disadvantage from having served.

3. As a result, the services find that, although they do not direct obligation to provide further education opportunities, they are in fact committed to extensive provisions in order to satisfy both their own and broader community requirements. In general, these provisions fall into three categories:

Provision for continuation education, through activities designed to make good educational deficiencies and to allow the individual to supplement and improve upon his existing formal education up to and even beyond those levels required by the service.

Provision for vocational education, through activities designed to provide both initial and supplementary vocational education, to improve performance levels in existing skills , and to facilitate transfer between skill areas and between levels of skill in the one area. The definition of 'vocational education' here is sufficiently broad to allow inclusion of education for the 'military vocation', in addition to education for the various technical occupations required in modern armed services.

Provision for recreational education, through activities offering 'leisure-time occupations in organised cultural training and recreative activities'[2] suited to the needs of the serviceman.

4. The relative emphasis given to these categories of service education naturally varies from country to country, although most emphasis tends to fall on those aspects of continuation and vocational education which directly contribute to the production and development of trained and 'trainable' manpower. This last is particularly true of service education in the developing countries, where resources of trained and 'trainable' manpower available to the services are generally limited.

Service Education in Developing Countries

5. Much has been written in the last decade on the role of the military in the political and economic development of new states[3], and there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that pre- and post-independence service education policies in such states have contributed substantially to the ability of the armed services to play a major role in such development. Shils[4], for example, suggests that members of the armed services in such states, and in particular those in the junior and middle grades of the officer group, tend to fall into what he terms 'the technical-administrative intelligentsia', and that they have (particularly in states in which the colonial power has done little tocreate a modern literary-political or technical-administrative intelligentsia, as in the successor states of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and in Indonesia) been among the major representatives of modernity in technology and administration.

6. This is, perhaps, an inevitable by-product of policies pursued before independence, and often after, to ensure that the armed services are adequately manned, where this implies that the services should have available

the necessary resources of managerial and technical manpower required to maintain their efficiency and organisational effectiveness. In most developing countries, these manpower resources are at a premium, and the services are forced to adopt 'self-help' policies aimed at the development of such resources within the services themselves[5]. The identification and recruitment of 'trainable' manpower assumes major importance, and beyond the point of recruitment the services must offer extensive education programmes designed specifically to:

> Develop the training potential of such recruits, and
> Provide educational support for further military and technical training.

7. The problem of providing educational services for the armed forces of a developing country is thus not different in kind from the same problem facing the armed services in developed countries; the differences is primarily one of degree, to the extent that the role of education in the production of trained manpower is greatly enhanced. This has been evident in the development of Army education services in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

THE ARMY IN PAPUA-NEW GUINEA

Background

8. Indigenous forces , raised in Papua-New Guinea under Australian officers and non-commissioned officers, made a small but note-worthy contribution to the Allied war effort in Papua-New Guinea during the war of 1939-45. Disbanded at the end of that war, they were re-formed in 1951 on a nucleus of one infantry battalion of the 'Pacific Islands Regiment'; during the period of 'confrontation' with Indonesia in the early 1960's, the nucleus was expanded to two infantry battalions and supporting units. These units include signallers, field and construction engineers, and maintenance and logistic support workshops and depots. The present strength of the Army in Papua-New Guinea is fixed at approximately 2,400 indigenous troops and approximately 700 Australians.

9. Command and control of the force rests solely with the administering power and is effected through the Australian Department of Defence. At the time of writing, the command, control, organisation, administrative and personnel policies and systems and general support of the Army in Papua-New Guinea are essentially those of the Australian Army, with some modifications to local conditions. However, planning for the development of a

true Army of Papua-New Guinea, with command, control and support systems appropriate to developing political and economic conditions in the Territory, is well in hand, and a programme for the phasing-out of Australian servicemen is already operating. In view of the present transitional stage of Army development in the Territory, the detailed organisation of the Army will not be dealt with here.

Recruitment

10. The Army has experienced no difficulty in attracting sufficient numbers of recruits, even during its 'expansion' phase in the early 1960s. As its present strength is fixed, current recruitment is in general limited to the replacement of wastage. The Army recruits in all districts of the Territory, twice a year, and maintains a careful balance in tribal representation, on a district basis. It recruits from amongst unmarried males in the age range 16-30 years; since 1965, the minimum acceptable educational attainment for recruitment has been Territory Standard 6 (end of primary schooling), except that in those districts in which there is evidence of lower acculturation recruiting standards may be relaxed to a certain extent.

11. Over a number of years, and in consultation with the Territory Administration, a system of selection tests and procedures has been evolved designed to assess the intending recruit's potential to benefit from training. These procedures have been extensively reported on elsewhere[6]; in practice, they have proved to be extremely effective as selective and predictive instruments. These procedures eliminate approximately two-thirds of all those offering for selection.

The Manpower Problem-

12. Modern armed services require large numbers of men whose skills are either directly or closely related to those possessed by civilians, and this is true even at the lower rank-levels. Janowitz[7] notes that between the American Civil War and the Korean War the proportion of enlisted men in the American services employed in 'purely military' occupations (as riflemen, gunners, cavalrymen and so on) fell from over 90% to under 30%; even in less technically-oriented armed services (as in the case of the typical services of a developing country) manpower employed in 'purely military' occupations is unlikely to rise much beyond 50% of the total. The remainder is required to be made up of those with civil-related skills as diverse as those associated with instrument and vehicle repair and cooking, hygiene control and the clerical occupations, electronics technology and driving.

13. In the territory of Papua-New Guinea, as in other developing

nations, the availability of those with civil-gained skills of immediate use to the Army is extremely small, almost to the point of non-existence. While the number of potential Army recruits (in terms of levels of educational attainment) is rising rapidly, so is the demand for just this sort of school-leaver, and territory education policies which aim at a substantial increase in the numbers of students remaining in secondary schooling (with a comparable increase in numbers proceeding to technical and teacher/tertiary education) 'thin out' the numbers available to the Army even more. All this must be seen against a school system with a total number of indigenous high school students (all levels) at 30th June, 1968 of less than 14,000.

14. The problem of training those members identified as having the potential for employment in higher-skilled military and civilian-related occupations (particularly those capable of becoming officers, technicians, and tradesmen) can be significantly reduced if such members have attained at the point of entry to the Army, formal civilian educational qualifications sufficient to admit them to advanced training courses (whether conducted by the military or by civil training organisations). In the circumstances, the Army can probably consider itself fortunate[8] in being able to recruit small numbers of post-primary school-leavers, but very few of these possess a formal educational qualification (such as the Form III Territory Intermediate) which would admit them to an advanced training course. Additionally, as the school population as a whole is decreasing in age the Army faces increasing difficulty in recruiting direct from among secondary school leavers.

15. In any case, 44% of indigenous members currently serving with the Army in Papua-New Guinea enlisted prior to the introduction of the educational requirement for enlistment in 1965. The most recent survey[9] of education levels in the Army in Papua-New Guinea (Jan 68) disclosed that, in terms of completed years of education before enlistment and by district of origin, mean education on enlistment varied between 34.49 years SD 2.10 (West Sepik District) and 6.43 years SD 1.33 (Bougainville).

16. It is evident that the service's need for trained manpower cannot be met from its normal recruitment programme, nor can manpower immediately 'trainable' in higher skills (either military or civilian-related) be provided from this source except in isolated instances. The need for an extensive 'self-help; in-service educational programme is amply demonstrated on this ground alone.

Other Educational Problems

17. Education is a process which results from the interaction of the individual with his environment. The service educator in a developing country such as Papua-New Guinea quickly recognises that the indigenous serviceman's environment is composed of two parts - first, and most importantly, his community, and second, the service. These parts often pull the serviceman in different directions, and are often seen by the serviceman himself as somehow antagonistic; he tends to see, for example:

His community environment as:	His Army environment as:
Based on traditional social patterns.	Based on a foreign, imposed formal organisation.
Having group-formulated locally-oriented goals.	Having an imposed, nationally-oriented goal.
Freely competitive, and under-protective.	Limitedly competitive, and over-protective.
Relatively unstructured.	Highly structured.
Essentially 'laissez-faire'.	Eseentially authoritarian.

18. While these are over-simplifications, they do contain elements of truth sufficient to make the individual aware of areas of real and possible conflict between the two parts of his environment. The service educator has a function in helping to resolve such conflicts, in the interests both of the service and of the individual; in this, he also assumes some of the service's responsibility for ensuring the continuing loyalty and stability of the service itself, a particularly heavy responsibility in a developing nation .

19. Beyond this, however, are a large number of educational problems associated with the general development of the Army itself - problems of establishing programmes of officer training and tradesman/technician training, language/communication problems, the formulation of policies on joint military/civilian training, the design of resettlement/rehabilitation systems and the provision of appropriate educational support to such systems, the questions of programme design and methodology appropriate to all educational systems. There is surprisingly little to do with personnell and training policies which does not have an educational implication, in the Army of Papua and New Guinea. The present Army education system in Papua-New Guinea recognises this.

ARMY EDUCATION - ORIGINS AND AIM

Origins

20. Prior to 1966, Army educational activities in Papua-New Guinea had been generally limited to an extension of those activities conducted by the Royal Australian Army Educational Corps (RAAEC) within the Australian Army - the conduct of formal classes leading to the award of Australian Army Certificate of Education, a limited amount of trade-training and military training supportive education, and the provision of limited recreational educational facilities. The need for a concentration of educational activities during the 6-month recruit training period had been recognised by the provision of RAAEC staff to the PNG Training Depot at Goldie River, some seventeen miles from Port Moresby, and a good deal of work had been done there on the development of an English-language course based on 'situational-method' material provided by the then Commonwealth Office of Education and by the British Army (the latter material having been used in similar courses for Gurkha troops). At this time, much of the specialist training of selected indigenous troops was undertaken in Army Installations in Australia.

21. It should be noted here that the Australian Army does not normally assume any formal responsibility for the education of the dependants of servicemen[10], a situation which has its origin in the fact that education, in the Australian federal system, is a power reserved to the States. This situation also applies in Papua-New Guinea, where the provision of educational services for dependents is an Administration responsibility. During the Army's expansion phase, some primary schools were built by the Army in recognition of the expansion's effect on the re-location of school-age populations, but these schools are staffed and serviced by the Administration's Department of Education and in most cases cater for non-Army children as well as the dependant population. Ownership of the school properties themselves is planned to revert to the Administration in due course.

22. In early 1966, as part of a review of Australian Army educational services, an Army Headquarters Education Committee visited Papua-New Guinea. (The Committee included Mr. J.G. Baker, at present Acting Principal of the Victorian Secondary Teacher's College.) The Committee considered the need to re-organise and re-direct the Army's educational activity in Papua-New Guinea to be of such urgency that a special report was submitted to the Military Board on 29th June, 1966. The Committee's recommendations were approved, and formal authority for the staff increases, etc, necessary to implement these recommendations was issued by Army Headquarters on 11th July, 1966.

23. Broadly, the Committee recommended the early establishment of the necessary education services to assist in the transformation of the Army in Papua-New Guinea to an autonomous PNG Army, with education programmes appropriate to the needs of that Ar Among its specific recommendations were:

a. that a defined degree of bilinguality in English and 'place talk'/Pidgin should be achieved by 1970;

b. that educational standards for the PNG Army should be as required for comparable rank and specialist positions in the Australian Regular Army, and that where possible education be given in Papua-New Guinea rather than in Australia;

c. that special emphasis should be given to leadership training;

d. that local (Administration) training institutions should be employed to the maximum degree, but where these were not appropriate (as in some aspects of officer training and in some trade areas) the Army should establish its own training organisations;

e. that, in view of the extent of formal education activities implied in the foregoing, a minimum of nine weeks education per year should be provided for all serving soldiers; and

f. that appropriate education staff, including National Service trained teachers specially selected for the task, should be made available.

TABLE 1

RAAEC STAFF, PAPUA-NEW GUINEA COMMAND

JUNE 1970

	Lt Col	Maj	Capt	Lt (1)	WO1	WO2	Sgt (2)
Port Moresby Area -							
HQ PNG Command	1(3)		1		1	1	
Methods and Exam Cell		1		1			
Murray Barracks Area			1	2		1	14(4)
Pacific Islands Regiment -							
1st Battalion PIR, Taurama			1	2			8
2nd Battalion PIR, Wewak			1	1			10(5)
Goldie River -							
PNG Training Depot (6)			1	2			5
Lae Area -							
Area Staff			1	2			4
Military Cadet School (7)			1			1	3
TOTALS (67 all ranks)	1	1	7	10	1	3	44

Notes:

1. Some positions filled by National Service men.
2. All positions filled by National Service men.
3. Designated 'Assistant Director of Army Education, PNG Command
4. Teachers are detached for duties with Headquarters or M and E Cell,
5. as required.
5. Additional teachers authorised for duties with the 2 PIR out-station at VANIMO.
6. For recruit training.
7. For potential officer training.

24. As part of the Implementation of the final recommendation, 26 selected National Service trained teachers arrived in Papua-New Guinea in late 1966; this number was supplemented by a further 14 in January 1967 and a further 4 were authorised in January 1968. These increases were authorised to meet expansions and extensions in the education programme. At the time of writing, the authorised in January 1968. These increases were authorised to meet expansions and extensions in the education programme. At the time of writing, the authorised RAAEC strength by location in Papua-New Guinea Command, all trained teachers, was as shown in Table 1 on Page 54 (the locations are as shown on the map at Annex A).*

25. The fact that one Australian soldier in every ten in the Territory is a trained teacher-member of the RAAEC is a measure of the importance given by the Army to its educational effort.

Aim and Functions

26. The stated aim of the Army education programme in Papua-New Guinea has been refined and modified as the Army's requirements in the development of an indigenous 'autonomous PNG Army' have themselves been identified, translated into policies and implemented. It must be emphasised that less than four years have elapsed since the general direction of the Army education programme was established, and that many aspects of future Army development have still to be determined, often at governmental level; some redefinition of the Army educational aim may be necessary in terms of future development and changes in particular parts of the education programme are almost inevitable.

27. Educational aims must be seen against the basic roles of the Army in Papua-New Guinea, which may be summed up as:

> 'a. to build an efficient national Army constituted of indigenes and capable of playing a vital part in the defence of Papua-New Guinea; and
>
> b. to provide for the future a well-disciplined, stable and reliable indigenous force completely loyal to the Administration or Government of Papua and New Guinea.' [11]

28. Against this background the aim of Army education in Papua-New Guinea, and the functions which arise from this aim, can be stated as:

Publisher's Note: * This map is not included in this publication.

a. To provide professional advice and assistance both in helping to meet the Army's need to find and train manpower in accordance with its present and planned future requirements and in ensuring that the capabilities of each individual are as fully developed as possible, to the ultimate advantage of the Army, the community and the individual himself.

b. Within this aim, the functions of the education service are designed to allow the service to contribute to the maximum in the following general areas:

(1) contribution to general Army programmes designed to produce soldiers of the quality needed to fulfil the Army's stated aim in the Territory;

(2) the development of an economic, effective and cohesive system of continuation and vocational education, realistically related to Administration education policies and making use of appropriate Territory education facilities;

(3) the development of a sound, modern methodology for both general and military education;

(4) the provision of supportive facilities of a general educational nature (including creative and recreative facilities) which will assist units and individuals in the performance of both military and non-military tasks and which are related to the cultural background and needs of the indigenous solder; and

(5) the provision of opportunities for the individual soldier to be kept informed of current affairs and community activities so that he may better relate his service to his rights and responsibilities as a citizen, and for him to prepare for his eventual return to the wider society of which he is a member.

ARMY EDUCATION - THE PROGRAMMES

General

29 With the acceptance of the recommendations of the Army Headquarters Education Committee in 1966, the following tasks were undertaken as a matter of priority:

a. the development of a programme of formal, in-service education related to PNG requirements, to replace the existing system of Australian Army Certificates of Education;

b. the development, in association with other branches, of a less formal programme of 'citizenship training' aimed at ensuring the desired personal development of all soldiers; and

c. the development, in association with other branches, of educational programmes related to specific military or technical training requirements.

30. While other aspects of educational activity will be mentioned later, the main bulk of educational effort has been directed into these programmes - the formal programme of continuation education, the less formal programme of general 'education for citizenship', and the supportive programmes of vocational education.

Continuation Education - The Formal Programme

31. The Australian Army Certificate of Education scheme, based on studies in English, Arithmetic and Social Studies at the levels of first, second and third years of secondary school studies in Australia, was replaced in 1967 by a system of PNG Army Certificates of Education, with syllabi in English, Arithmetic, Science and Social Studies closely related to the appropriate syllabi in Forms 1, 2 and 3 of the Territory high school curriculum. Pre-Certificate studies in English were continued for those soldiers with limited proficiency in the language, although the syllabus was further developed and provision made for the extensive use of audi-visual aids (including 'mini-labs'). Three stages in these pre-Certificate English studies were recognised, and 'English Speakers' Badges' were awarded for progress through these stages. A good deal of the effort in these pre-Certificate English studies had to be devoted to

serving soldiers who had enlisted before 1965; however, even today, and although the Administration policy is that English will be used exclusively in the upper classes of the primary school, this programme is still required in the recruit training stage (of 206 recruits who entered the Army in January 1970, although only 4 needed instruction at the lowest level of pre-Certificate English, 50 required instruction at the second level and a further 71 required instruction at the third or initial certificate level).

32. Science was introduced in the formal programme to assist in establishing a rational basis for beliefs regarding natural phenomena, cause and effect, and the like. The syllabus at the lowest level has a high natural-environment content, with syllabus development planned concentrically to establish a firm basis of understanding in a wide number of general scientific areas. The Social Studies syllabus was closely modelled on the Territory syllabus, with particular emphasis being given to the question of government and the soldier's responsibilities to his community; close contact is being maintained with the Administration Education Department in this area, to ensure that current developments in the Territory 'Social Sciences' syllabus are appropriately paralleled by development in the service course. The present syllabus is also closely related to the 'education for citizenship' course, disccussed below.

33. During his six months recruit training, the young soldier undertakes studies under the formal programme for eight periods each week for sixteen weeks. Standardised Territory-developed attainment tests in English and Arithmetic are used to allocate recruits to appropriate instructional levels; attainment levels tend to vary downwards from claimed levels of education on entry, due in the main to the often wide gap between school leaving and Army entry. Of the 206 recruits entering training in January 1970, nine were allotted to PNG Army Certificate of Education (ACE) Class 1 studies (= Form 3); a further 75 were allotted to PNG ACE 2 (= Form 2) studies. With groups assessed at lower levels, instruction is concentrated on English, Arithmetic and Social Studies; Science is introduced at higher levels.

34. After recruit training, and in units, a minimum of six seeks per year is devoted to formal programme studies; the attainment of specific levels of education, expressed in terms of PNG ACE certificate levels, has now been made a requirement for progression to and within non-commissioned ranks. Education staffs are available on an 'area' bases, and conduct what are effectively 'block-release' courses in area education centres. In addition to English speaking proficiency and normal PNG ACE programmes, these staffs also conduct a supplementary General Knowledge

course, based on four two-week 'blocks'; each 'block' consists of one week of English studies and exercises and one week of visits, studies and exercises related to such topics as personal afinance, communications media, primary and secondary industry and current affairs. In the course of one training year, therefore, each soldier will spend a minimum of eight weeks on educational 'block-release', typically spending 4-6 weeks on formal PNG ACE studies in one, two or three subjects and undertaking one or two'blocks' of the General Knowledge course. Depending on the type of occupation in which the soldier is employed and the unit plan for the future employment of the soldier, he may be released for more than the minimum educational requirement. Testing in the period December 1967 - January 1968 (a little under one full year after the introduction of the revised formal education system) showed that the overall average net increase in education level after enlistment as a result of Army education was at that time about 0.45 years; some district groups revealed an average net increase of 1.06 years. Continued testing has shown that there is a marked differential in net increase in educational level for groups holding different levels of educational attainment on entry (Table 2).[12]

TABLE 2

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREMENT IN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

For those entering with educational level of:	*Average annual increment in educational years:*
Less than Std 6	*0.014*
Std 6	*0.126*
Std 7	*0.359*
Std 8	*0.372*
Std 9 and above	*0.414*

'Education for Citizenship' - The Informal Programme

35. Each soldier takes part, each year, in a total of some sixty periods of study and discussion in the fields of Christian ethics and civics. This 'Citizenship Training' course, as it is called, is a joint responsibility of unit staffs, chaplains and RAAEC staff; the general content of the course is produced by the chaplains and the education staff, while the conduct of any particular study/discussion period is the responsibility of a member nominated for that purpose by the unit commander. The civics part of the course, for the content (and usually the conduct) of which the RAAEC staff is responsible, is directly linked with the Social

Studies syllabus of the formal programme, but aims to discuss in more detail and in a less formal setting such subjects as 'Why Have Governments?', 'Army - Public Service Relationships', 'The Soldier's Responsibilities in the Community' and 'Political Systems'. The material content of the course is presented in the form of guides for discussion/dramatised treatment of individual topics, and is designed for progressive development, the inclusion of local/topical material and handling in either large or small group situations.

36. The 'practical' side of this programme is the Army's extensive scheme of 'Civic Action' in the Territory - the performance of community tasks, in consultation and association with the Administration and local people, on a planned unit and sub-unit basis throughout the Territory. This programme, which uses Army skills and organisational ability but depends primarily on voluntary local labour, has covered projects as varied as airstrip preparation, minor bridging, well-sinking and the building of local-material schools and aid-posts. 'Civic Action' patrols, planned to undertake projects on an area basis, can take as long as six weeks, and all units, including specialist units, take part in this programme.

37. It is difficult if not impossible to measure the outcome of these two related programmes. Apart from a noteworthy strengthening of Army-Administration-community relations, however, there is considered to have been an improvement in internal communication within the Army, and attitude surveys indicate that the average soldier shows a broadening of citizenship-related, nationally oriented attitudes during his service.

Vocational Education - Service-Need Programmes

38. While a number of small formal educational courses are conducted in association with particular military training (eg, map-reading) and trade training (eg, clerical and operating trades) courses, the most substantial courses are those conducted in association with apprentice and potential-officer training.

a. *Apprentice Training* -- The Army requires a substantial number of tradesmen trained to full Territory civil apprenticeship standards in mechanical and electrical engineering, building and other trades. Administration apprentice training institutions are used for this purpose, under an agreement reached between the Administration and the Army; broadly, this provides that suitable serving soldiers with appropriate pre-entry or Army-gained educational levels will be trained

in Administration institutions initially, completing their apprenticeship in Army installations under the supervision of 'apprentice masters' and undertaking such associated educational training as required. The Army contributes to the staffing of any Administration institution so used and also offers vacancies on specialist courses conducted at the Army's PNG Training Depot (in such occupations as cooking, butchery, plant and wireless operating, supply inspection, medical technician and hygiene inspection) to the Administration and its agencies.

b. *Potential Officer Training* - Indigenous officers for the PNG Army are currently trained at the Officer Cadet School, Portsea, Victoria (a scheme for in-service commissioning is now also in operation). As entrants to the Officer Cadet School require a Victorian Leaving (Form 5) Certificate or equivalent, and as the supply of suitably educationally qualified officer aspirants in the Territory is extremely limited, a special Military Cadet School has been set up in Lae to provide the cultural and academic background and the military training required to prepare applicants for entry to OCS. Applicants are selected from those who have a Territory Intermediate Certificate, a PNG Army Cias 1 Certificate of Education (= Territory Form 3) or equivalent; the course normally lasts eighteen months, and nearly 50% of the course time is devoted to a wide range of formal and informal educational activities, with special concentration on English and communication skills and general studies in mathematics, science and history/geography (the latter oriented to TPNG and her neighbours). The first cadets trained under this scheme have now graduated from OCS Portsea, with excellent results. Possible future systems of officer production (and thus officer education) are currently under examination; these include provision for the production of technical and specialist officers.

ARMY EDUCATION --OTHER ACTIVITIES

39, In addition to the major programmes discussed above, Army education in Papua-New Guinea undertakes a variety of activities. The most important of these can be discussed under the heading of:

a. general supportive (including recreational) educational activities;

b. resettlement, dependant education and other liaison activities;

c. methodology and staff training; and

d. activities in support of Australian troops.

General Supportive Activities

40. A proportion of funds available for use in Army educational activities in Papua-New Guinea is set aside for expenditure on the development of library and other creative and recreative facilities in area education centres (the majority of such funds go towards the provision of text books, educational materials and teaching aids for use in the formal programme). Each area education centre currently has a basic reference and fiction library, a small record library (for individual borrowing) and recreative facilities appropriate to the needs of the particular area. In most areas the formal programme of education includes some introduction to and planned use of such facilities.

41. Local 'newsheets' and bulletins are produced in each area, usually under RAAEC auspices. These include educationally oriented material, and soldiers are encouraged during the formal and General Knowledge 'block-release' programmes to write for these journals. Folk tales and local descriptive pieces are popular among both writers and readers, as are crossword and other puzzles (particularly when the editors offer a small prize - from their own pockets).

42. Education staff members frequently take part in and accompany patrols (both operational/training and 'Civic Action'). This provides ample material both for 'on-the-spot' citizenship training and for later use in both formal and informal programmes. Education staff also take part in normal regimental and extra-regimental duties (including organised sport), which provide additional points of contact with the troops.

Liaison Activities

43. While resettlement placement, rehabilitation (where necessary) and dependant education are not Army responsibilities, the education staff is responsible for the service aspects of such schemes - the headquarters

staff for liaison with the appropriate Administration departments on the part of the Army and for the formulation of procedures to ensure that the Army functions under such schemes are carried out, and the field staff for the implementation of such procedures and for advice and assistance to units, etc, as appropriate.

44. In the case of resettlement/rehabilitation, for example, the actual responsibility lies with the Territory Department of Labour. RAAEC staff represent the Army on co-ordinating committees at national and regional level and the implementation within the Army of policies, procedures etc, agreed in such committees is a RAAEC responsibility - the full operation of the planned resettlement scheme is at present delayed pending agreement on service retirement pensions. In a normal year, retirements due to age, medical and other discharges and other factors amount to between 150-200; most of these are 'self-resettling', but the introduction of a pension scheme in the future will lead to an increased dependence upon a formal resettlement scheme and possibly, an increased discharge rate. Dependant education, as mentioned previously, is a Department of Education responsbility, but there is extensive liaison between the Department and RAAEC staff at national and regional level to ensure the proper implementation of zoning, enrolment, etc, procedures; RAAEC staff provide advice and assistance for schemes of women's and pre-school education conducted and sponsored by such groups as Officers' Wives' Associations in unit areas. The RAAEC provides liaison with Administration departments (such as Departments of Health, etc) concerned in these activities. There is close co-operation between the Army (through the RAAEC) and the Adult Education staff of the Education Department on such matters as course nominations and enrolments, and considerable mutual consultation between them on matters of common concern (programme design, methodology, etc).

Methodology and Staff Training

45. Concern with the development of appropriate educational methodology has brought RAAEC staff into close contact with other educational authorities, and in particular with the various teachers' subject associations and the Educational Materials Centre of the University of Papua-New Guinea. A small 'Methods and Examinations Cell' has recently been added to the headquarters RAAEC staff to co-ordinate and codify methods activities within the Army (for both general military training and education) in addition to supervising the conduct of PNG Army Certificates of Education examinations.

46. In-service staff training presents many problems, not the least being the need to cope with an annual turn-over of 44 National Service

trained teachers together with a variable number of Regular Army staff. Many institutions have given assistance from time to time in this area, including ASOPA, the RAAF School of Languages, the Department of Education, and RAAEC centres in Australia. Most in-service staff training (including the initial briefing of new members) is now conducted in the Territory, through RAAEC training courses, conferences and working groups.

Activities in Support of Australian Troops

47. In addition to their responsibility for local programmes, RAAEC staffs must fulfil their normal responsibilities for the provision of educational services for Australian troops. This includes the conduct of courses leading to the award of Australian Army Certificates of Education, the provision of general education and resettlement advice and assistance, and the provision of facilities for recreational education activities (for the latter purpose, facilities established for indigenous troops on an area basis are also used by Australian troops). IT ALSO INCLUDES SUCH ACTIVITIES as current affairs lecturing, and assistance in the conduct of promotion examination coaching courses.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

48. The pattern of Army education activities in Papua-New Guinea is generally typical of Army education activities anywhere, except that it demonstrates the bias towards manpower development which must typify Army education and training programmes in developing countries. Many activities of course, are based on normal Australian Army educational practice, suitably modified to the Territory situation - this is inevitable to a degree, as the constraints applied to Army education in Austraiia (as in dependent education) have been by-and-large applied to the Army's education activities in Papua-New Guinea. Nevertheless, some parts of the total programme, such as 'education for citizenship', the developments in 'broadening' education and potential-officer education, represent a marked departure from Australian Army practice and a positive response to the particular problems facing the Army in the Territory.

49. What contribution is the Army education programme in Papua-New Guinea making to community advancement? The point needs first to be made that while the Army, in general terms, is making a contribution to Territory advancement perhaps out of proportion to its relatively small size - and particularly in the areas of local community-aid, the development of a pool of trained manpower and the general educational advancement of its members - this is not its primary aim. In the present situation, the Army's major concern is with its own development as an armed service appropriate to the

present and likely future needs of the Territory; in itself, this is no small task and the Army's training and education programmes are almost wholly devoted to its achievement. Armies today, however, and in particular those in developing countries, are no longer 'a class of men set apart from the general mass of the community', as William Windham described them in the eighteenth century[13]. In a community such as Papua-New Guinea today, the Army and its programmes have an impact relatively greater than that of the Australian Army in Australia, even though in terms of 'uniforms per thousand of population' the Army in Papua-New Guinea is proportionately only one-third the size of its Australian foster-parent. Certainly, as any student of Papua-New Guinea affairs in Australian newspapers will have noted and as any visitor to the Territory will have observed, the Army in the Territory is more highly 'visible' than its Australian counterpart.

50. While it is not possible to quantify the actual contributions which the Army and its training and educational programmes are making to the Territory, it is possible to discern some general areas in which these contributions are being made.

The development of nationally oriented attitudes.- The divisive influences at work in the Territory community, ranging from language barriers to disparate development rates, have been commented on by various authorities[14]. Sociologists such as Margaret Mead[15] have noted that the Army, along with other Territory institutions, may have a significant part to play in promoting a national view in place of the rather limited locally-oriented attitudes prevalent in the Territory community, and this in itself may offset in some part the development of the more divisive, potentially - disruptive regionally based orientations which tend to be the next stage beyond purely local outlooks. In its 'education for citizenship' programme, the Army has set out deliberately to cultivate nationally-oriented attitudes, and would seem to be having some success in this field. These educational activities are supported by the practical 'civil action' programme and by personnel policies which, while designed to maintain the very strong links between the individual and his tribal community, make the soldier constantly aware of his membership of a national institution. These policies and activities, of course, have their parallel in other Territory institutions, and in particular in the Territory Public Service.

The raising of in-service educational levels.- The formal programmes of general continuation, pre-vocational, vocational and potential-officer education are designed to raise in-service educational levels to facilitate the Army's own training and organisational

development tasks. 'Spin-off' from these programmes serves to assist in raising the general educational level of the whole community, but it must be noted that.

a. these programmes apply to a very small part of the total Territory population, particularly in terms of those presently leaving the Army and taking their skills and further education back into the community, and
b. these programmes do tend to be selective - as shown Table 2, it is the already well-educated (by Territory standards) soldier who reaps the greatest benefit from in-service training and educational programmes, an inevitable consequence of the nature and urgency of the Army's development task.

The provision of general further education opportunities. - The opportunities for general further education (including external studies courses, recreational education activities and 'self-motivated' continuation and pre-vocational education) which the Army can offer to members, and to a limited extent to dependants, are restricted by a number of constraints. These include the general policy limitations under which the Army works, the limited availability of appropriate civil in-Territory further education opportunities, and finance. In spite of this, the Army population is a relatively 'advantaged' sector of the community in this aspect, although it is regarded as a necessary condition of soldier service that some advantages should be offered to offset the general disadvantages of service and to ensure the eventual return to the community of a self-supporting, active member. Army education can only actively contribute to these provisions in a limited way; it makes its major contribution in providing the administrative framework to ensure that available community services (in such areas as adult education, placement on re-settlement, etc) are used economically and effectively and that where practicable the Army makes a positive contribution to the development of these services.

The furtherance of individual development. To the extent that Army education programmes, both formal and informal, are assisting in the development of administration in the Territory (English), who have developed a 'national' view, who have been assisted in the realisation of their potential for academic and vocational achievement and who have had the opportunity to build up personal attitude and value systems from a rational base, these programmes

must be considered to be making a positive contribution to Territory community advancement. That this is a designed contribution and not an accidental one can be confirmed by reference to the stated aims of Army education in the Territory (paragraph 29).

51. The major criticism of Army education activities in the Territory must be that its programmes have been developed in relative isolation from other programmes of further education, and thus its potential for greater, perhaps even direct contribution to community advancement has been limited. In the way in which the Army has until recently been in reality only an extension of the Australian Army, in the way in which the Army's educational programmes have been developed, in the limited appropriateness of other Territory systems of further education and, most importantly, in terms of the Army's objective in the Territory = the development of an efficient, national Army - it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. Looking towards a future in which such an Army has been created, it is possible to predict a much closer degree of integration of civil and service educational policies and programmes, and with it a greater and more direct contribution by Army education to community development.

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NOTES

1. It is difficult to propose a suitable and all-inclusive definition for further education in the Australian setting as the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) found it in the English setting (the 'Crowther Report', 1959, Volume 1, p 318). For purposes of this paper, the term 'further education' is defined as the vocational and non-vocational education provided for people over the school-leaving age, including adults but excluding formal tertiary education.

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8. In the January 1969 and 1970 intakes into recruit training at PNG Training Depot, Goldie River (the January intake containing a substantially greater proportion of recent school-leavers than the July intake,

and thus tending to average a much higher level of educational attainment than the mid-year intake), the following was the educational composition of the intakes:

	Jan 69	Jan 70
No in intake	106	206
Educational levels assessed as:		
Above std 6	71	84
Below std 6	35	122

9. *Armstrong, D.J., An Examination of the Effects of District of Origin on P1 Soldier Performance on Group Tests of Ability, Aptitude and Attainment, PNG Psych Research Unit, Research Report No 6 (Feb 70).*

10. *In Japan during the post-war occupation period, and more recently in Malaysia - Singapore, the Australian services have made provision for the education of the dependants of servicemen, but curricula, staffing etc, of schools set up under such a scheme is an Australian State responsibility, the States (usually NSW and Vic) acting as agents on behalf of the Commonwealth.*

11. *P R. Lynch (Commonwealth Minister for the Army), 'The Coming Army'. New Guinea, 4,No 1, Mar-Apr 69, p 22.*

12. *Information provided by Major D.J. Armstrong, Officer Commanding, PNG Psych Research Unit, in correspondence with the author.*

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ABORIGINAL ADULT EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO LITERACY

P.M.C. Turnbull

GENERAL

At the risk of digressing from the topic, perhaps the best way to commence this paper is to provide a few statistics and basic information concerning Aboriginals in the Northern Territory.

The Northern Territory is one-sixth of Australia and covers an area of 523,000 square miles, approximately one-fifth of which is set aside as Reserves for the use and benefit of Aboriginals. In this vast area live some 75,000 people, approximately 22,000 of whom are full-blood Aborigines* divided among some 74 distinct tribes or linguistic groups.

These tribes vary in number from a few score to many hundreds. For example, the Tiwi people of Bathurst and Melville Islands number over 1,000, whilst the Larakias, the former inhabitants of the area in which Darwin now stands, would now number only approximately 20. Almost two-thirds of the population reside on Government Settlements and Missions, of which there are a total of 28 in the Northern Territory, the balance being found on Pastoral Properties or resident in a town area.

As would be expected, there are heavy concentrations of population along the coastal plains where natural food supplies from both land and sea are plentiful. However, the people of the so-called desert areas in Central Australia are still numerically strong, even though each traditional tribal area may cover many hundreds of square miles for each tribe. Boundaries of tribal areas are fairly loosely defined in the coastal and

*In the Northern Territory the term "Aborigine" or "Aboriginal" refers only to full-bloods. There are no reliable statistics concerning part-Aboriginal people, most of whom live in the main town areas, but a reasonable estimate would be 5,000 with about 500 living on Missions and Pastoral Properties who identify themselves with the Aboriginal people.

near coastal regions, but hunting and ritual domains in Central Australia were well defined and jealously guarded.

There are few, if any, Aborigines in the Northern Territory now following fully the traditional pattern of life, although the degree to which traditional influences still apply varies with the length of contact the communities have had with Western civilisation. It can be generally said, however, that traditional influences and practices are, in varying degrees, a feature in the lives of every full-blooded Aboriginal. For instance, traditional dance and song is still perpetuated with vitality and meaning and secret ceremonies continue to be performed in most areas. The young men continue to be initiated and status in the tribe is still dependent upon submitting to age-grading rituals.

The skin colouring of the full-blood Aborigines in the Northern Territory varies from brown in the Centre to black in the coastal and island areas. The Central Australian Aborigines' hair is fair whilst that of the Northern tribes is generally dark. Similarities in the social organisation of the tribes are found throughout the Territory, but each tribe usually has its own mythological characteristics and which account for all phenomena, natural and supernatural.

Each tribe is identified by its own language which is quite distinct from even that of its near neighbours. Whilst most Aborigines are bilingual (and sometimes tri-lingual) in Aboriginal languages, they rely on English to communicate with members of tribes from areas at a distance from their own country.

BRANCH ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

Before going on to discuss Adult Education activities, it is necessary at this stage to mention briefly the functions of the Welfare Branch; one of 12 Branches that make up the Northern Territory Administration which, with the Administrator as titular head, administers the Territory on behalf of the Commonwealth Government. The Social Welfare Branch has all of the usual roles normally associated with a State Welfare Authority, eg., child and family welfare, and so on, but, in addition, is charged with the further responsibility of the advancement of the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory. In particular, the Education Section of Welfare Branch is responsible for an education programme designed to meet the special needs of the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory. This programme extends from Pre-School through Primary School to Community High School or Post-Primary School and Adult Education classes.*

* The June 1969edition of the Special Schools Bulletin which is entirely devoted to the work of Education Section of the Branch has been provided as an addendum to this paper.

It is quite clear that the overall educational programme has to be constantly viewed side by side with the Government's policy. The Prime Minister, in his statement in the House on September 7, 1967, stated, inter alia:

> "The word 'assimilation' is often misunderstood. There is nothing mandatory or arbitrary about it and it does not mean inter-breeding with the avowed objective of eventually eliminating the Aboriginal physical features or Aboriginal culture. It may be that this will happen but it is a matter of individual decision and not of policy.
>
> "Assimilation means that the Aboriginals can be similar to other citizens, not, of course, in looks, but with regard to all the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Our aim is to help the Aboriginals to become an integral part of our Australian community life".

In the light of this, it is obvious that the Welfare Branch Adult Education programme can and must play a major role in assisting the Aboriginal people through a difficult period of social change.

ADULT EDUCATION - GENERAL

It can be claimed that under the general heading of "Adult Education" there are three main divisions, viz.:

1. Employment training on the Settlement;
2. Courses conducted at various centres;
3. Evening classes conducted on Settlements, Missions, etc.

The first two divisions could be considered as just training in vocational skills, but it is strongly felt that because of the changes in attitudes and habits as well as the motiviation involved, that these activities are a definite form of adult education.

Employment training on the Settlement : Employment training is basically "on the job" training and is conducted by carpenters, mechanics, cooks, farm managers etc. on the master apprenticeship principle.

Courses conducted at various centres, mainly in larger centres, are specialist courses, varying greatly in length and conducted by specialist officers for hygiene assistants, butchers, nursing assistants, home management trainees and so on.

One such centre, for example, is the Central Training Establishment in Darwin. At this centre there are two separate groups in residence.

A course in Home Management Training is provided for periods of up to six months for young Aboriginal women, while the other group consists of young Aboriginal women under-going a twelve month Nursing Course at Darwin Hospital. Classes are also given for both groups in Basic Mathematics and English. There have been several courses in Civics and Leadership and Literacy held in Darwin for Aboriginal leaders.

A small group of senior girls are at present working on a twelve month course in Office Management and Procedures, conducted at the Adult Education Centre in Darwin. These girls are resident in Hostel-type accommodation as are a small group of senior boys undergoing a Pre-Trade Course, also conducted at the Adult Education Centre and leading on to Apprentice-type employment. Mention is made later in this paper of the Teaching Assistants' Course conducted at Kormilda College.

However, evening classes in a great variety of subjects form by far the largest percentage of the adult education programme. Subjects taught include: Aboriginal Song and Dance and Art and Craft, English, Civics, Basic Mathematics, Hairdressing, Hygiene, Mechanics, Music, Sewing/Dressmaking, Domestic Science, Manual Training, and several others.

Perhaps the main area in which assistance should be given to Aboriginal adults in the overall programme of social change could be summarised as follows:

(1) Attitude and Philosophy

Living in a house.
Responsibility for family.
Regular attendance at work.
Work as a part of the responsibilities of an adult.
A desire for education for children.
Independence.
Budgeting of wages.

(2) English Language

Normal communication - oral and written.
Reading and listening for education and pleasure.
Expression - more than normal communication.
Study - reading more.

(3) Facilitiy in number

Especially in handling money and measurements.

(4) Home Making, Housekeeping and Social Graces

Ability to handle skills necessary to maintain a home.

Ability to mix in society.
Ability to take part in community activities.

(5) Civics and Social Studies

An understanding of the government of the country.
An appreciation of responsibility in respect of government.

(6) Skills needed to earn wages.

(7) Dignity and Identity.

(8) Leisure Activities

The term "adult" is interpreted to include any person who has left school and this therefore provides an opportunity to cater for "young" adults as well as "old" adults.

On Settlements, the ultimate responsibility for adult classes is vested in the Superintendent, because of his overall responsibility in guiding the direction of social change. However, the responsibility for Tutorial (Supervised Homework) classes and the engagement of part-time Craft Teachers remains solely with the Head Master/Teacher because these activities are an integral part of the programme for education of children. It is expected that Superintendents and Head Teachers, as members of the Settlement Executive, will co-operate at all times and that the Superintendent will take advantage of the professional skill of the Head Teacher and his staff, particularly in the matter of preparation of programmes and advice on teaching techniques.

On Missions where schools are in charge of a Welfare Branch teacher, that teacher is responsible for all Adult classes of a non-evangelical type, except where some special arrangement has been made with the Mission Superintendent.

On Missions where schools are run by the Mission authorities the situation is the same as that for Settlements. Mission personnel can be given approval, and can receive payment for, adult education classes.

During 1969 notes on "Elections and Voting Procedures" were prepared and circulated to all Settlements, Missions and Pastoral Properties. It was intended that the notes be used as basic material to be used in adult classes to acquaint the Aboriginal people of their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

It is hoped that during 1970 similar notes will be prepared in such important fields as Social Services Benefits, Income Tax, Use and Abuse of Alcholol, Fire Precaution and so on. These notes will be widely circulated as they become available.

Many other teaching aids are available for use with adult classes. These aids have been, and are, in extensive use. They include maps, charts, diagrams, various kinds of printed material and so on. Television will be introduced to the Northern Territory in the near future and it is anticipated that this medium will have a large impact on adult groups. As well as ABC and Commerical Television in Darwin, there will also be a separate Television organisation functioning in the Groote Eylandt and Yirrkala area.

Relevant statistics concerning Adult Education classes conducted during 1969 and during January to May 1970 are attached as an appendix to this paper.

LITERACY

One definition of a literate person could be the ability of that person to read fluently anything put before him in the writing of his mother-tongue. In the case of the Aboriginal peoples of the Northern Territory where there are in excess of 70 main languages, none of which are written, it is quite impracticable to think in terms of teaching in the vernacular, although much good work has been done by the linguists in various areas on literacy in the vernacular, and there are some places where the vernacular is taught as a subject by both European and Aboriginal staff.

At Hooker Creek, for example, an Aboriginal teaching assistant, Mr. M. Luther, is currently conducting classes in Wailbri for both Aboriginal people and European staff and similar classes have been held at Maningrida by Aboriginal instructors in Burera. However, it could be claimed that these classes are "language" classes rather than "literacy" classes.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has its Australian Headquarters in Darwin, has been working on literacy in the vernacular in various areas in the Northern Territory since 1963, in particular at Maningrida, Papunya, Hooker Creek and Borroloola. In addition, an independent linguist has been working at Warrabri for some years, as have a few Mission personnel on several Missions.

Literacy in English for the Aboriginal peoples of the Northern Territory is naturally an entirely different matter and constitutes a very large problem. It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss the role of the Special Schools in the teaching of English as a second language, but suffice it to say that an Aboriginal child who has been through the entire school system from Pre-school onwards most certainly will have acquired a good level of fluency in English at the end of his schooling and will definitely be literate.

There have been a number of ventures in recent years in attempting to improve literacy in English among Aboriginals of various ages who may

not have had the benefit of the entire school programme. Some of these ventures can be briefly summarised as follows:

Adult Courses:

For the last three years fortnightly Leadership/Literacy Courses for adult Aboriginal community leaders and village councillors have been held in Darwin. These courses have had a heavy emphasis on literacy, with this part of the course being handled by S.I.L.

An initial testing and grading of each person is followed by discussions on phonics and reading and comprehension work using the W.A. Reading Development Scheme. Subsequently, during 1969, S.I.L. commenced a follow-up correspondence Reading Development Scheme and at present thirteen Aboriginal people are enrolled in this Course.

Prior to the first Leadership/Literacy Course in January 1968, several short term Civics Courses were held in Darwin and in these too, literacy was emphasised.

Teaching Assistants:

Aboriginal teaching assistants are employed in the Special Schools to assist teachers in carrying out the general education of the children, forming a vital element in the functioning of the school. Thus, the teaching assistant provides an early link between child and teacher, an ever-present link between parent and teacher, and the bulwark for the child during his transition from the vernacular to English. As equally important though isthe development of the individual, for each teaching assistant is regarded as a potential youth and community leader.

Several short term courses have been held in the past, but the first twelve month specialised course for teaching assistants was held at Kormilda College in 1968; the two year course for teaching assistants commenced at Kormilda College this year. The Summer Institute of Linguistics provides instruction in literacy for four hours per week as part of the course and a specialist teacher provides further instruction in speech training. This special instruction is in addition to academic work in English, Mathematics, Health and Hygiene, Social Studies, Natural Science and Civics. Additional courses are provided in Music, Physical Education, Youth Work, Art, Pre-School Work, Ceramics and Audio-Visual Aids.

Records:

The "Learning English" series of records prepared as a Radio/Correspondence Course for migrants by the Commonwealth Office of Education for the Department of Immigration have been used in various classes with

varying age-groups, but not always with success. The migrants for whom the records and booklets were intended have a heritage and background of Western culture and are literate in their own language, but this is not the case with the Aborigines. To help overcome this problem the Welfare Branch has negotiated with the Australian Broadcasting Commission for the preparation of a series of tapes, entitled "English for Aborigines", which is further discussed below under "Future Developments."

Individual Classes:

English/Literacy type classes have been conducted at a substantial number of centres for many years, usually at the volition and desire of a keen and dedicated teacher who feels that there is an adult group in his immediate environment who would benefit from some type of formal instruction in English.

Newspapers:

Several Settlements are producing local newspapers - eg. the "Maningrida Mirage" and "Tiwi Talkabout" (Snake Bay) - and considerable interest has been created in Settlement affairs where such papers have been put into use. Younger people have been observed reading such papers to older people with obvious interest and enjoyment on both sides.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

As mentioned above a new and most interesting project designed primarily to improve the Aboriginal's fluency in English is an "English for Aborigines" programme currently being prepared by the Education Department of the ABC. This programme, entitled "Time to Listen" will comprise at least fifty, twenty-minute seesions, each of which will contain a serial or play(quite often based on a legend), some music, both Aboriginal and European, some interviews and so on. The programme will be broadcast and will also be issued on tapes to all Special Schools. It is primarily aimed at the upper school group, but it is obvious that there will be considerable scope for use with adult groups. The vocabulary is structured and is based on the Oral English Syllabuses, First, Second and Third Year, prepared by Miss Gloria Tate when she was an officer of the Welfare Branch, and used in the Special Schools.

For some time, the Branch has had the concept of a newspaper entirely devoted to Northern Territory Aboriginal Affairs. Shortage of staff, plus printing difficulties, has so far prevented this project from coming to fruition, but it is hoped that with the recent increase in Education Section personnel, it will not be much longer before such a newspaper is a reality.

Handbooks on various important topics already listed above will also be prepared over the next twelve months and these handbooks should greatly assist in the development of further adult classes. As mentioned above, considerable and increasing use of teaching aids will be made in adult education classes, in particular with audio/visual aids.

Other steps in forward planning include:

1. Further collaboration with S.I.L. in the development and printing of information booklets on various Aboriginal languages;
2. The use of language laboratories for literacy classes (the Branch is currently setting up language laboratories in selected areas, with the co-operation and assistance of the Language Institute, (University of New South Wales);
3. The development of further courses for young Aboriginal people to continue their education and to retain their understandingof, and fluency in, English.

Two groups of children have completed their final year of primary school at Kormilda College and are now at Darwin High School and there will be a regular flow of such students in future which will be supplemented by the establishment of sister-transitional schools at Gove and Alice Springs. When the continued development and growth of the Branch's Post Primary schools is also taken into account, it can be truthfully claimed that for the young, educated, literate Aborigine, the future looks brighter than it has ever been.

As the Director of Social Welfare, Mr. H.C. Giese, states in his foreword "Education - A Key Factor in Aboriginal Advancement" printed in the June 1969 Special Schools Bulletin: "Perhaps on the basis of hindsight it may have been wiser to have placed greater emphasis on adult education including a programme of adult literacy in the early years but, again, it must be realised that there were major difficulties of language, staff and facilities which had to be faced in the introduction of even a limited programme of education." However, a start had to be, and, was made.

Much has been achieved since the Branch assumed control of Aboriginal education in 1956; much more remains to be done, but it can be confidently claimed that progress is being made, albeit gradually.

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ABORIGINAL ADULT EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT

A.T. Duncan

Introduction

In New South Wales there are probably 30,000 people of Aboriginal descent, almost all of whom comprises an educationally, economically and socially disadvantaged minority in the general community. The majority of Aborigines live in depressed socio-economic conditions on Aboriginal reserves or in fringe settlements on the outskirts of country towns. The growing Aboriginal population in urban areas lives in substandard over-crowded dwellings in the inner suburbs of the Sydney metropolitan area.

In general, Aborigines have limited educational attainments and are employed as unskilled labourers and seasonal workers, whilst many are unemployed. The 1966 survey by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics shows that whereas some 38.51% of the general workforce in Australia may be classed as white collar workers, only 3.34% of Aborigines* may be so regarded.

The census figures also reveal that whereas over 30% of the total New South Wales population have reached the Intermediate Certificate level or have gained higher educational qualifications, less than 4% of the Aboriginal population have obtained this minimum qualification. Recent surveys by the NSW Department of Education and the NSW Teachers' Federation show that 90% of Aboriginal pupils leave school by the end of Form II secondary level, and that only a very small percentage continue at school beyond the minimum compulsory leaving age to obtain the School Certificate, Higher School Certificate or any other recognised educational qualification.

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* Although the definition of an Aboriginal in the Census may not have been entirely satisfactory, the percentage figures on employment and education appear to be both realistic and valid

The Aboriginal population is not only educationally underpriviledged but is faced with associated problems concerned with inadequate housing, poor health and continued unemployment. In recent years increased expenditure by both Commonwealth and State governments has lead to a definite improvement in the social conditions of many Aborigines. Despite these improvements, however, the nature of the 'Welfare' approach has had very little impact on the basic problems which perpetuate the situation. It is just not possible for governments to solve the "Aboriginal problem" as the socio-economic conditions of Aborigines can only be raised when Aborigines have the confidence to tackle the problem themselves and when they also have the skills and resources at their disposal to do so. An increasing number of Aborigines are now staying on longer at school, are achieving normal educational standards, and, are taking their full place as members of the Australian community.

The work of the Aboriginal Education Council (NSW) has been particularly fruitful in this respect. The development of a special coaching scheme, study centres, and especially the development of the Incentive Scholarship Scheme has done much to equalise educational opportunities for an increasing number of Aboriginal pupils. With the assistance of the Aboriginal Education Council many pupils have now obtained the School Certificate or Higher School Certificate and have been able to obtain employment commensurate with their ability.

In the past, integration has often been achieved only when Aborigines have cut themselves off from their relatives and friends in order to attain individual success. It is now more common for Aborigines to retain a sense of their own cultural heritage whilst adapting to the socio-economic demands of the general community.

THE ROLE OF THE ADULT EDUCATOR

(1) *Urban Areas:*

Many Aborigines who migrate to urban areas in search of employment find that their greatest difficulties lie in obtaining suitable accommodation and in adapting their lives to the pressures of urban living. Through effective counselling and informed guidance, many Aborigines have been assisted to take their full place in the Australian community. There are many others, however, who have found the pressures too great and who have returned to the haven of their reserve to regain the emotional security they required.

The Department of Adult Education at Sydney University has been able to assist many Aborigines to improve their educational qualifications and to find satisfactory employment commensurate with their abilities. These people now provide a point of contact and communication between the general community and Aboriginal sub-groups in rural areas. The Department is now introducing a new pilot project designed to provide a selected group of Aborigines with educational qualifications and self-motivation to enable them to obtain satisfactory employment on a permanent basis. As well as instruction in basic subjects, students will be given opportunities to discuss topics, of current interest chosen by themselves and will be encouraged to express their opinions. In this way the course will seek to encourage a sense of personal development through active participation and increased responsibility. This J.O.B.S. Project (Job Opportunities Through Better Skills) is an experimental one which may have some successes and some failures. Careful evaluation, however, should enable the Department to provide constructive recommendations for future courses of this nature.

(2) *Aborigines in Rural Areas:*

Despite successes which may be achieved with individual Aborigines who migrate to the city, the crux of the Aboriginal problem is to be found in the isolated Aboriginal communities, usually away from the main stream of national life. Here, Aborigines live in de-facto segregation and are almost entirely dependent upon some form or other of government assistance. When new homes are provided on these settlements, Aborigines are unable to pay normal rents, often because of their economic situation and lack of permanent employment. The situation is compounded because of a strong attitude shared by members of the sub-culture that the payment of rent is not really the responsibility of Aborigines because they believe that the Government should provide them with free housing as compensation for the loss of their land and economic independence with the spread of European settlement in the early nineteenth century.

The real solution to the recalcitrant problems faced by the Aboriginal sub-culture in New South Wales must be found in the education of the total community rather than in the advancement of selected individuals who leave the community without the benefit of their support. The skimming effect may well intensify, rather than improve, the present situation.

In the past, Aboriginal communities have never been consulted on matters concerning their welfare or advancement and have never participated in the planning or implementation of new Government policies or programmes. Today, these communities appear to lack effective leadership and the confidence to cope adequately with their own situation. Traditional forms of education associated with the cognitive aspects of learning appear to have little relevance. The educator must concern himself with the behavioural objectives of learning in order to promote personal growth and citizen competence. Accepting a broad definition of education which includes the affective characteristics of learning, the educator must concern himself with sensitivity, responsibility, and personal integrity as well as with understanding and intellectual honesty. The role of the effective educator has little to do with classroom instruction. His real task is to facilitate learning, to enable the student to develop competence in solving the problems he faces, both as an individual and as a member of a community.

THE ADULT EDUCATOR AS A FACILITATOR

Underprivilidged minority groups in society appear to benefit very little from traditional forms of educational instruction. Members of the group have found school to be an unsatisfying experience and have become educational dropouts long before the time when the law permitted them to leave school. Lacking opportunities for achievement and imbued with a spirit of their own inadequacy, they have little confidence in their ability to cope with their own situation.

Jean H. Lagasse, the founder of the community development programme with Indians and Metis in Canada has stated that "all persons or groups, no matter how unambitious they may appear at first encounter, have a strong desire to better their conditions." He has argued that groups will take advantage of opportunities to improve their conditions "once it becomes evident to them that the skills and resources at their disposal are sufficient to enable them to improve their lot and that <u>they are allowed to do so on their own terms</u>."

In community advancement, the task is not to do things for the Aboriginal community but to assist the community to develop the strategies and skills necessary for them to improve their situation themselves.

The educator then, works with a community as a facilitator. His task is to assist the community to identify their problems and take positive

steps towards their solution. Care must be taken to ensure that he does not impose his own pre-conceived ideas, since effective action can only be taken when the community feels that their actions will lead to goals which they believe to be important. Whilst the educator may acquaint the community with the services and resources which are at their disposal, all decisions must be made by the people themselves. The educator may suggest, advise and propose, but action must come from the community itself. The democratic processes of involvement and participation are implicit in the development and implementation of effective social action by the community. At the present time in New South Wales, finance has not been available for community work at grass root level to any great extent. There can be no doubt, however, about this very real need for this type of approach.

The Department of Adult Education has adopted an alternative approach to community advancement by encouraging Aboriginal communities to organise local and regional conferences. The two main purposes of these conferences are to provide Aborigines with background information about Federal and State policies and to provide an opportunity for Aborigines to discuss matters of local concern. The conferences also provide these Aborigines who are involved in the planning and organisation of the conferences with practical experience in meeting procedure, chairmanship and public speaking. Conferences are only arranged when they are requested by an Aboriginal community. It is pointed out that all organisations including the programme and accommodation are the responsibility of a planning committee to be formed from the community itself.

The Department has indicated that it is prepared to assist in facilitating arrangements for the attendance of Government officials and other resource personnel and also with finance for clerical work, the hire of a suitable hall and for transport where required. The Aboriginal community must accept responsibility for expenses incurred for accommodation and catering and for the overall organisation of the conference itself. Credit for the success of these conferences is shared by members of the community who organised them. This leads to increased self-confidence as a whole. Over the past twelve months conferences of this type have been held in many parts of New South Wales. Considerable time is usually spent on lectures and discussions on policy about Aboriginal matters from the Government. The rest of the time is devoted to discussions on matters of local interest. In many cases the conference provides the first opportunity for the community to have face-to-face discussions with senior government officials responsible for policy. It must be emphasised that local conferences are only the first step towards community action. Follow-up visits are required to encourage later action-oriented seminars and workshops which are concerned with particular problems of local concern. In many cases there has already

been considerable community action following a successful conference, but the main value may well be found in the changed attitudes of Aborigines whose negative criticisms are replaced by positive suggestions for future action.

When Conferences are organised on a regional basis, there is considerable interaction amongst different Aboriginal communities. This leads to a growing awareness, of the steps which have been taken by individual communities to overcome some of the problems they face. Conferences also provide a useful instrument for self expression and the development of grass roots leadership at a level which is acceptable to the community. Groups must be given the opportunity to develop their own representative leaders who are able to articulate the aspirations of the community which they represent.

Conferences must have effective follow-up action. Opportunieis must be provided for discussions and the interchange of ideas at both the formal and informal level. The adult educator should encourage favourable community attitude towards effective social action. He must never attempt to initiate action himself or force his own ideas on the community. His task is to provide a favourable climate for group discussion and self action. He should assist in clarifying important issues and indicating the way in which resources and skills can be mobilised in order to achieve success. The adult educator must act as a catylist so that the community can take positive and effective action for its own advancement.

ADULT EDUCATION AMONGST CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

SOME PRINCIPLES AND METHODS

Rev. J.H. Downing

1. THE NEED:- Contact in European society has brought to the Aboriginals, bewilderment, loss of authority and responsibility, a breakdown of earlier societal structures, and increasing difficulty in coping with the speed and complications of the social change which is making its impact upon them.

There is a serious *communication barrier,-* which doctors operating amongst Aboriginals describe as the most crippling and pressing hindrance to the giving of effective medical and health services. It is so marked as to lead one doctor to describe much of his work as "veterinary science".

The communication barrier arises because English is not the language spoken by the Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory Conversations between Aboriginals in the Centre are almost always conducted in one or other of the Aboriginal languages of the area.

Vastly different cultural values and practices exist between European and Aboriginal cultures. This means that what motivates the European will not necessarily motivate the Aboriginal. In many cases it will have the negative effect, because the Aboriginal is taught not to compete. There are no rewards for the go-getter in the Aboriginal society.

Causation and treatment of illness is not understood in European terms, but is still based on the belief that "demons" or "magic" makes people sick. So widespread and deeply-rooted is this belief that fairly sophisticated part-Europeans will seek out a "medicine man" before going to the European doctor. Or, having gone to the doctor, then seek out the medicine man "just in case" it's a "mamu' (demon), explained one part-European with considerable experience of European ways.

The Authority structure in Aboriginal society has broken down and is in the process of breaking down. This means that there is no "authority" group or otherwise which can induce people to conform to certain practices which the European authority sees as desirable. Aboriginal people will agree to something, or carry out some practices,

in order to get the authority off their back, but when that external authority is removed, or the nature of that authority changed, the people will revert to earlier practices and values.

The only changes in values and practices which will be effective and lasting are those which arise from within the group and are reinforced by "internal authority" rather than external, or those taken into the peoples' own thinking so that the motivation for the change becomes theirs.

2. *THE MOTIVATION:* The motivation to learn, or to change patterns of thinking and behaviour and social organisation must come from within the group, or our efforts in that direction are doomed to failure. If the Aboriginal person believes that sickness is caused by "mamu" or by "magic" then he is not going to want to learn methods of sanitation or hygiene based on foreign b .

If he is not given effective authority or responsibility or not adequately rewarded for this, then he is not likely to be motivated to learn more about authority and its exercise.

If he wants a job only to earn enough money for his immediate needs, in other words, so as to be more effectively "Aboriginal" rather than "European", then he unlikely to be interested in job training or work habits.

If what the Aboriginal group wants is a return of authority in order to protect their community from the damaging effects of outsiders upon them, or the breakdown of traditional patterns and disciplines, then he is not likely to be vitally interested in the formation of a "parents and citizens' association" or a "social club" on the settlement where he lives.

If he is disaffected with his contact with European society and wishes to strengthen old patterns and to withdraw from or lessen the contact situation, or if he can get by on limited English, he is not likely to be motivated to persevere with learning such a different and bewildering language expressive of such a vastly different culture and values.

People are generally motivated to learn only those things which reflect their own concerns, or if such learning would fulfil some distant goal.

However, motivation can be stimulated by consultation and discussion of difficulties. In seeking to set up an English class for Aboriginals, we first discussed with groups, the difficulties we knew they had with shopping and getting just what they wanted. We suggested that often through bad pronunciation and through mis-hearing on the part of the shop-keeper, people were made to feel shy and to withdraw, or to accept something which they didn't want. One man exclaimed excitedly, "That's a true word, that happened to me". We discussed other situations and whether

it would be desirable to be able to speak better English and to be able to cope with such situations more adequately. Out of all this came a request from some of the people for an adult English class.

Information can also sometimes lead to motivation to learn. Information about infant mortality and a comparison of Aboriginal and European rates has led groups to become concerned and to want to discuss further the possible reasons for this and the kind of education that might help overcome it.

3. *THE APPROACH:* Having consulted the people and determined whether the motivation is present for learning in a particular field, *it seems important then to wait until the people, in some way, ask for the teaching desired.* Unless this is done the motivation is likely to be ours, and the expressed desire for that teaching a matter of being brow-beaten into it, or of the innate courtesy that makes some Aborigines want to please.

When we discussed with the people their need for an English class they agreed that we should start one. We did not, however, but waited a few months, during which the class was sometimes commented upon by ourselves or the people, until a man came with a specific request for the class to start. He was asked then where he thought the class should be held and when. He chose the social worker's office (courtesy ?) and Saturday mornings when the people from the government settlement seven miles out of town, came in to shop.

Only he and his wife turned up. The venue was further discussed and the man felt that the class should be on a week night at the government settlement. An experimental class was run for a term, with sustained attendance by 8-10 adults, though about 16 started at first.

Depending a little upon the educator's relationship with the group, it is possible to get interest and permission to present some teaching during the visit to that group.

The Principles we have followed are these:

(1) We ask a group of the men (never the European authorities, though, of course, with their co-operation) if they think the people would like to see some pictures and hear a story about, say TB.
We give our reasons for thinking the people might be concerned about TB, and how the teaching material might help them; if the men indicate that they think the people would like to see this material then -

(2) We ask with whom we should discuss this. Usually several men are mentioned.

(3) We ask the nominated "authority" group when and where they would like to have the material presented, having been

given their approval. The people have always chosen a situation in the camp, never an "official" building though these have been offered. They have also chosen a time. Upon being asked if they would like to hear some information on infant mortality and the way in which a church agency was trying to help the people by setting up a Mother Training and Child Care unit as part of a planned Institute for Aboriginal Development, the group which had met to discuss the future of an Aboriginal club said, "It's a bit late, we'll make another time to hear you".
They did so, and on hearing the social worker out, one Aranta man who works in Alice Springs for the Lutheran Finke River Mission said, "We must arrange another meeting so you can tell a lot more people about this. All the people should hear it."
He arranged another meeting at which about 50 people were present. The social worker was able to present slides to convey the information and concerns about which he had spoken. During the presentation the social worker asked if any of the people would like to speak.

(4) *The people must have the opportunity to discuss in their own language what is presented to them, and to comment upon it.* At this meeting three men got up to speak. One was an old man who lived on the settlement. He spoke in Pitjantjatjara and backed up what the social worker had said. He was followed by the Lutheran Aboriginal Pastor, who in the Aranta language also backed up what the social worker had presented. Then the man who had arranged the meeting spoke in Aranta. He said, "of all the babies born at Hermannsburg about the same time as me, I'm the only one alive. It was drought time; our mothers had only breast milk. It was not enough. They were poor too. One by one we all got sick, and one by one all those babies died. I nearly died too, but Pastor Albrecht got some goats and the goat's milk saved me. It's just as the social worker told you. Breast milk is not enough. Someone has to teach our women these things and I stand here alone tonight to tell you it's all true."

(5) *Time must be allowed for the people to discuss and absorb the material presented to them,* especially if it has been presented in English. *This process may take weeks.*

4. *THE MEDIUM:* We are dealing in Central Australia largely with illiterate or semi-literate people. Many Aranta and Pitjantjatjara people are literate in their own language, but very few are in English.

Therefore, it seems to us that presentation by pictures and story, by demonstration and participation, by methods that are visual and/or active, is important.

In presenting the TB story with pictures, we used a microscope at the point in the story where the doctor looks at Charlotte's spit through a microscope. We showed first a mosquito to illustrate simply that a microscope made little things look big. Then we showed a TB germ culture, which always seemed to impress the people. Where too large a crowd was present, they would be asked to send out about 10 men and 10 women who could inform the others of what they saw.

There are many other media involving visual presentation and the comparative value of these should be investigated. (Different methods may suit different situations.)

5. *THE MESSAGE:* The message should be simple and adequate. It should present the essentials of what is to be imparted *with a minimum of detail.* If pictures are used they *should deal with the Aboriginals' own situation.*

The message of a particular teaching should convey the feeling that it is dealing with the Aboriginals' own cultural setting and ideas and values.

Where at all possible, teaching material should be of a comparative nature, eg. Aboriginal authority structure and its breakdown, and comparisons without Euorpean authority structure, showing some of the reasons for breakdown in the clash of authorities, and showing ways in which authority might be re-built; general hygiene, comparing the old nomadic life and the moving away from a fouled area to settled camp life in a particular place, with the consequent necessity to remove refuse and to carry out certain hygiene practices.

Where possible teaching should be done in the vernacular-or, where a number of languages are spoken on a settlement, in the language which the Aboriginal people themselves use as a common language.

This is essential if a message is to be imparted accurately. It is possible and sometimes necessary to present a message in English but the English must be very simple and clear with the avoidance of qualifying words or clauses. Generally there is someone in a group who can grasp the message and will explain it later to the others.

Teaching should be direct at the level of thinking and practice of the particular group or groups.- In our case it is directed at camp level because the majority of the people live in a camp situation; and even where they may live in housing on settlements there is rarely water laid on, and the camp fire and billy cans are still the main facility.

Any suggested action should also take account of the peoples' practices and beliefs and should be action that is possible, having in mind the group's situation, and relatively easy to carry out. *Any action requiring major social change is quite unrealistic.* In the case of the TB precautions the points made were

(1) spit into the fire, or bury your spit; the latter being a compromise between the possible production of spores, and undesirability of having TB germs blowing around with the dust. (We felt that to introduce handkerchiefs or tissues was undesirable)

(2) Put your blankets in the sun every day and the sun will kill the germs.

(3) Keep your billy can and pannekin for <u>yourself alone</u>, lest others swallow germs from your spit around the edge and catch TB.

(4) Cough into your hand to stop the spit blowing about for other people to breathe in and catch TB.

6. THE REINFORCEMENT: We have found it valuable to repeat the message later in a different medium, eg. posters and story, followed by the same series on slides, Each group so contacted for a re-presentation of our TB Material has expressed interest in seeing the material for the second time.

Question and recall is a common but valuable means of re-inforcement. In the TB Story there is some questioning on the way through. At a point in the story in which the TB sufferer gives her billy can to her husband for him to drink out of it, we ask, "What might be round the edge of that billy can?" On each of the very many showings we have received the answers, "sickness", or "spit" or "germs". We ask "Where are those germs going now?" The people often sit up and pantomime the answer that the germs are going down into Charlie's stomach.

After the story is presented the group is asked to recall what the doctor told Charlie about TB and how to help prevent it spread. In every case they have been able to recall the instructions given.

Mature Aboriginal Adults should be trained to do the teaching as a means of reinforcing the message. To train teenage boys and girls in this situation is of very limited value. They have no status or authority in their groups.

On the other hand there are many mature intelligent men and women, some of them "born teachers" and story tellers, and having real authority in their groups. These people don't need even to be able to speak English to any degree so long as we can communicate

In the vernacular, and/or get the training and teaching material effectively translated into the vernacular.

Such people can be trained to present one piece of teaching (perhaps the first of a series) and having exhausted that, then can be trained to present the next lot of material.

In Alice Springs we are building an Institute for Aboriginal Development in order to fill in some of the gaps in service to, and the development of, Aboriginal people.

The first stage is built and about to start operation. It is a Mother Training and Child Care unit. On discharge from hospital, children classed as "failure to thrive" will be accommodated with their mothers in the unit. They will sleep on mattresses on the floor. A health education supervisor will teach them how to prepare babies food on a camp fire using one or two billy cans.

Aboriginal children have a mortality rate which is in the direct ratio of 11:1 to the mortality rate of European children, if measured over the first 2 years of life. The reason for this is the problem of effectively weaning and feeding infants. The Aboriginal women have lost the weaning practices which they once had, and are largely ignorant both of proper weaning practices and of European foods and food values.

In the Institute for Aboriginal Development basic health and hygiene will be taught to mothers using special materials now being produced. Teaching on weaning must take account of just what foods are available on mission, settlement and station, showing the best foods and also down to the poorest quality likely to be available.

To re-inforce the teaching it is envisaged that six or so people will be accommodated from each particular group where possible, so that they can support each other on return to camp (capacity of the unit is 20 mothers with infants). Mature Aboriginal women having authority will also be given the two to three week course (or longer) so that they can return to strengthen the younger mothers in the practices taught, as well as to teach these in the camp situation.

To complement the work of Stage 1 and to meet other basic needs, Stage 2 will be built, housing a language laboratory for the training of staff from Departments such as Health, Police and Welfare in the main languages of the Centre. This will not only improve communication, but also relationships with the Aboriginal people.

The Laboratory will also train in spoken English those Aboriginals who are motivated to learn it, and who may benefit from such techniques.

Workshop facilities will also be set up for the production of scripts, tapes and teaching aids and series of various kinds for adult education. These will be aimed at equipping the people better to understand the changes affecting them, and to develop and utilise the resources required to cope with those changes.

Space and facilities will also be provided for cross-culture education, aimed both at giving many tourists passing through the area, an appreciation of the background strengths and skills of the Aboriginal people, as well as the stresses and difficulties which they face in the pressure of our culture upon them. Groups of Aboriginals and Europeans may meet either to study common problems together, or to form language clubs where they can practice speaking each other's language in conversation.

It is also hoped that a service can be offered to those Departments, organisations or persons who wish to use it, for courses of orientation for those working with Aborigines.

The response of the Aboriginal groups to whom we have explained this is to say "you should go around and tell our people what you have just told us. They should all know." Or, in the case of Eli, "We must get those slides so that when we go on patrol, we can tell the story to all our people".

THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT

A. Grey

TEACHERS AND COMMUNITIES:

Teachers and communities, both, have been with us a long time. Is it, indeed, impossible to conjure one without the other? Amongst the responsibilities assumed by (s)he who acknowledges her/himself as a teacher, there is the inescapable one of community.

TEACHERS AS PEOPLE:

At this point in time it does matter, for communities, that women do outnumber men teachers in schools, that there is in Australia (and no doubt elsewhere) a marked division of the sexes, the division having as one effect the denigration of women teachers who are members in the community. Are there any female headteachers in Australia's State schools? Why do private girls' schools have women headteachers and mistresses and such predominantly female staff? Going on with the questions, may I venture to suggest that, despite the facts that of the numbers of women teachers in all our schools, it was of teachers as males that Teachers were perceived when you read the title of this section. Nor do I want in this paper to exclude the male teacher; I merely seek to have the term teacher recognised as applying to men and to women, to, that is, people - full blooded, warm, living beings, not just to some theoretical concept.

TEACHERS' STATUS:

These people may or may not live in the community where they teach. They may be teachers of the 3-5 aged child in the community and as such teachers be regarded by fellow teachers in particular, and by the community generally, as belonging to an inconsequentially lowly status, that of child-minders. They may be teachers of the 6-12s and, as they come to teach older children, they come to be vested with the accolade of nearly acceptable. As they approach acceptance their sex becomes perceptibly masculine. They may, of

course, have some significance, that is, they may teach 13-18s for which role they may or may not have been in need of qualifications and training.

HOW TEACHERS ARE VIEWED:

At whatever rung on this hierarchical ladder teachers may be, few see themselves as, and few communities see them as, members of the senior profession in society, if they are seen or see themselves as professional at all. How do teachers regard themselves? We do not know. Bush, Flanders and Watson are among those in the USA and New Zealand who have tried to find out. The situation remains, however, pretty much as Gage put it in 1963: 'We know little about how teachers behave, why they behave as they do and with what effects." Because I consider it matters to our theme I want to suggest a few observations by way of discussion pointers.

TEACHERS ARE 'GOOD' PEOPLE:

Few teachers regard themselves as philosophers. They are rather "good sorts" morally, and of good character. They are pragmatists with their feet on the ground, doing an honest job.

TEACHERS AND AUTHORITY:

They are employed and shifted around by a remote, centrally controlled, authoritarian bureaucracy with which they endeavour to relate through the person of a peripatetic officer of that autocracy maybe five or six times a year for brief periods. Remarkable skills, over which any possessor could be justifiably self-righteous, are called for if this interchange is to have discernable value to the children, the community's locus of teacher attention. The continuation of this anachronistic inspectorial practice maintains the school in a constant state of perilous equilibrium, with the teacher as the fulcrum. The teacher is under authority, and under community scrutiny. Little wonder that any teacher who is not quite so high on maturity feels the stress of this constant balancing trick. Feelings of stress can be allayed by the teacher being more authoritarian. Because authoritarian, he is further threatened by authority and becomes more authoritarian.

TEACHERS AND RESULTS:

Teachers in this sytem carry out, plebian-like, the mystiques of their tasks with, I think, sound common sense but, possibly less that is justifiably logical. Their central task is to see that pupils pass exams and get a bit of paper and with it a good job. So, competently, teachers perform their 9 am to 3 pm duties. As they have worked conscientiously and as the system

is infallible, the failure of a pupil is of course due to the pupil, rarely the system, sometimes (illogically) bad luck, and more often to that community parasite, the pupil's parents.

TEACHERS AND PARENTS:

A parent represents an extension beyond the clear and definable task of a teacher and hence a step towards which common sense dictates that it is unpropitious to extend. Attempts by a parent to close the gap by stepping towards the domain of the teacher are watched therefore with caution. The older of the teaching species protect the younger from any inroads by parents. The protective barriers are lower if the female of the parents presents herself at the battlement walls, but the drawbridge is quickly raised if the male of the parental species appears. Now, if I may change my metaphor back to the earlier one, the teacher has successfully shifted the perils of his near-disequilibrium and shares them with the pupils. They, in this context, are the fulcrum nicely engaged in balancing the forces of the school, as represented by the teacher, with the home, as represented by the parents. To the extent that the mass of children succeed in their balancing process, so in turn the community forces balance; as the children falter their schooling suffers, and the community and society eventually falter.

INSIDE THE SCHOOL:

Within the classroom curriculum, or within the school programme, teachers may or may not manifest awareness of the community and of how they influence and are influenced by the community. Schools and teachers range all the way from a school or a teacher in isolation, as a make-believe island in a community, to the veritable community school.

THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY AND THE LARGER COMMUNITY:

A school and the community as visualised by a school may be a narrow based concept; or either or both may seen and be seen as a link in an international chain of schools and communities; and the idea of a school as a community is now well established. It is the inter-relation of the one distinguishable, though not easily definable, entity with the others with which we are concerned, and it is to the potential isolation of the teacher in these inter-related communities that it seems to me we have to give our attention, just in case this isolation exists and affects adversely either or both of these communities and their inter-relationships.

TEACHERS' BACKGROUNDS:

From where do we recruit our teachers? From our secondary schools following direct end-on attendance at a cloistered institution of higher learning. Punctuality, cleanliness - the cold-power pre-requisite to godliness - cleanshaven-ness, neatly patched elbows, regularity of hours and bodily habits, a straight look in the eye, a firm handshake, polite "excuse me's", pleasant smile, are now all ready to be arrayed impeccably at suitable times in a suitable tone of clipped precision in stratified stages, accompanying page after laborious page of the manual, before raw-boned, full-blooded, zestful, enquiring people, young citizens of a struggle-full democracy. These youth are conscripts to a system that alleges "education" to be necessary for these benighted and sorry passessors of dubious animal instincts, which it will take over 10,000 tedious hours to pressure-pack into cognitive conformity.

TEACHER ISOLATION:

It is these badges of offices that teachers wear and display that isolate them. Trained in isolation, not always necessarily splendidly, teachers are by their training prepared to isolate pupils and be isolated themselves by closed sets of increasingly electronically controlled magic-eye doors and by prescriptions implemented five hours a day, five days a week, forty weeks a year, forty years of a lifetime. Here in isolation, for fear the fever is catching, they proceed they say to isolate fact from fiction, extrude examination questions from literary masterpieces; discern science from art and from religion and superstition. Little capsules of history, geography, economics, Latin, are sucked up, tasted, spat out or swallowed. There is little time or reason, for thinking and learning.

TEACHERS AND KNOWLEDGE:

Paid, and happy to practise being the harbinger of knowledge among the young and the less endowed, the teacher has adopted a role that has been reinforced during almost 100 years into a near-impregnable tradition. In nothing else - not even in religion - has the innate conservatism of the human race been more marked than in the school. In the school, knowledge has been restricted to what it is considered should be transmitted to children. What is so transmitted to children is conserved by the community for further transmission.

EXCEPTIONS:

Exceptions do emerge in this system and it is the practice of isolation that,

I suggest, generates the emergence of exceptions. Growth has been proceeding in this exceptional teacher, which, because (s)he has been isolated, has not been noticed soon enough to be crushed; or, if noticed, it was expedient to allow it to continue; or it was not propitious to dampen it; or it was not divergent enough at early first signs to redirect; or it touched a spark that another in authority would have liked to have allowed to develop when he was young; or just plain fact that it is a pleasant female who had the idea and subverted the gullible male either into letting her proceed, or into letting him have the idea as his.

CHANGE FOR PROFIT:

Thus, I am saying, is the teacher's role essentially cast in any advancing or otherwise, community. Nor can there be any sudden or extensive moves to alter this situation unless, of course, the aim is to increase anyone's profit. If that aim of increased profit can be achieved we will, I am sure, cast conservatism to the wind and innovate.

INNOVATION FOR QUALITY:

But even where innovation can be demonstrated as being desirable for more people more swiftly, if it is only airy fairy notions like the quality of the teacher's own life, the pupils', the families' or the communities' welfare, then let us be sure that schooling will remain safely static, centralised, hierarchical, elitist, authoritarian, isolated from the community, and the teachers' federation can be expected to remain as a trade union group unproductive of teachers' professional image in the community.

VARIABLE COMMUNITIES:

Meanwhile the community is not static. Life goes on outside as well as inside a classroom and the community of the school How does this life within and without in fact match up? The question is important for our society because a deep and extensive differential in the match seems to have been a feature of those major cultures that crumbled in the past. The decay in cities and towns, the persistence of ghettos, criminality, graft, corruption, unresolved industrial cleavages, encapsulated minority sub-cultures are all occurring at the same time as we experience disaffection with the school by all but a segment of one quartile of its members. The coincidences cannot be lightly dismissed as non-indicators of a non-match between the school and the community.

WHAT TEACHERS COULD BE:

I want now to proceed and suggest what a teacher's role could be in a

community, as distinct from what it has been and, above, portrayed as having too often been. Before I do so, it is necessary to dispose of the word "advancement" in the title. Who, I ask you, would have thought to use such a term in such a context? Could a teacher have possibly thought there could be a role for a teacher in community advancement?

ADVANCEMENT:

Community advancement is, I want to suggest, a pretentious concept. That any community's members, as individuals or as a group, may consider when they view or review an aspect of the functioning of their achievements in their community that their community is now more advanced, then the term "advancement" can be meaningful to them. That a teacher may be among such members can readily be conceded. But to postulate community advancement and then to connect a teacher's role with this advancement is to expose the teacher at least to the critisism of being pretentious - and, as said, isolated as teachers are, pretentious is all too handy an appellation to attatch.

COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES:

The point must also be made of communities, as of teachers, that is, just how different all communities are and along how many dimensions communities are different. They differ in size, in the intensities of specific prejudices, age gaps and cleavages, family groupings, as well as in economic, geographical, demographic, ecological, not to mention educational aspirations. As a not insignificant number of communities will say of themselves, "You could do that with them - but it would never work here. Ours is a peculiar community." Of course it is. All communities are peculiar. To be aware of the relevant dynamics within a community is to be prepared to struggle harder - or to take the task more easily - when moving in as a freshman or greenhorn to a community. "Success", "happiness", "acceptance", in one community may provide a teacher with basic confidence for entering another community's affairs. Whether one will remain confident depends on one's competence at understanding what makes the people in this community as distinct from the people in the earlier community, tick.

THE TEACHER's SELF:

What could a teacher's role in a community be? It is first applying the law of parsimony, to be him/herself. People everywhere are in search of people who can be themselves. A community wants teachers, not so much for what they know and have been trained in, but for what they are as persons. It is to the person they react. The teacher's skills are added advantages (or disadvantages).

UNOBTRUSIVENESS:

The less obtrusive teachers are in being themselves, the more they are, with the passage of time, cherished. It is the teacher the community discovers who is most sought after in the community. One is not, of course, harping on the old morality theme of the need for modesty. Modesty is a concomitant of an educated person. Unobtrusiveness means being available when needed, and having people wonder where you have been in betwixt times. It means leaving the majority of openings for others in the community to fill with their talents. It means being a person through whom the skills and abilities and potentials of others can be discovered and developed.

Unobtrusive teachers are ones who are available to the community at a time of need. Such teachers, respected first as persons, are not abused, do not abide abuse and are not called on unduly and with scant concern for their person. The community respects the self-respect teachers demonstrate.

CONTRIBUTIONS:

As more people contribute more in depth, more extensively and, to them and their community, more satisfyingly, so more people become available for more action in the community. They become, too, more aware of other people as people in that community, of their interests, foibles, ambitions - of that is, their humanity. There is, it might be noticed while passing, in this kind of community human beings room for much fun and laughter, laughter with others and only at oneself.

What a teacher has of experience, ability, skill (s)he can then contribute positively and productively to the community, merging in doing so her/his contributions imperceptibly with those other members of the community who contribute their own experience, abilities and skills. Such a community says, "We did this ourselves" and acknowledges a teacher as part of the "we".

SIGNIFICANT TASKS:

It should be interpolated here that the tasks referred to are those that individuals and groups in the community undertake, that are significant to them as growing points in their lives. The implication is that to take part in activities that merely fill time or meet purely physical needs may be less than satisfying to most. It is the need of self-fulfilment to which the greates individual and group momentum attaches.

CONSTRUCTIVENESS:

When the contribution that teachers make is constructive and productive, that is, is of a positive quality in community relationships, the teachers' contributions will then be sought and acknowledged as it is for what it is an and for that quality that it is felt to feed into the life of the community. Another of a teacher's tasks is to be aware of the nature of the continuing role of the teacher. As persons, teachers inject their own skills for limited times on limited occasions. To the extent that the teachers' skills re-affirm others continuingly as persons and invite them to contribute their skills, then to that extent are teachers effective in a community.

SUPPORTING:

Continuity has two other faces. There is the face of continuity in constructive behaviour. The teacher who blames parents for children's failures, who blames other teachers, is in point of fact blaming self, denigrating self. Such a teacher breaks the flow of, or continuity of, positively oriented relationships between herself and others. Listen to teachers in February at the start of a new school year: "Those kids have forgotten all they were taught last year', or, "God knows what last year's teacher taught my little so and so's". "What did (s)he do with all his time?" Listen to the same teachers later in the year: "What a bunch of kids they are. Boy, have they come on ahead this year."

TEAM WORK:

The other face of continuity is the face that allows a teacher to view her task as one of a continuing team of community influences upon other people. See how it spells out withchildren as our point of focus. First in the team come parents, then the pre-school, followed by kindergarten, grade school and secondary school. All members of the team have a function at their point in the team. By being aware of this team effect it is more likely teachers can place in focus their various roles at different times. If, indeed, an order of importance is to be allocated in order of importance, then greatest attention has to be focused on the swiftest growing point in the community, the young learner. Yet it is his presence in the team that is most often under-developed. The point of second focus for support because of their early and protracted influences on children and hence of the community, is the parents.

SUPPORT FOR PARENTS:

To the extent that their presence enables each individual child to establish the foundations of his own way of life to the fullest, parents deserve the continuing support of teachers. Together they can be more sure that each learner continues in his eagerness for learning ; to actualise, by expressing, his self; and perceive others' self-perception and relate to others in ways that the self and others experience as authentic.

TEACHERS IN GROUPS:

Whether teachers will join groups in the community, and which, if any, will be their own personal choice. The keynote of teacher availability is that they be available continuingly to interact with and relate to the people of the community.

INTERACTION:

Each interaction is a face-to-face, lived-through experience. It is the multiplicity of these interactions that "teaches". Each interaction draws from teachers something of what they are and they receive from others what they are. If a community is static, bigotted, severely unfair in its discriminations, teachers may well have to withdraw, say at times of vacations, to replenish their own resources in order that they may continue to be available. Withdrawal with the intention of replenishing and returning afresh is a strengthening process to teachers and to the community.

BROADENED SOCIAL BASE:

Teachers (and other agencies, such as bank managers) who continually bring into the community interactions that allow for broader based concepts, extend the social base of a community. As this base extends the community members themselves move beyond their own geographical and personal limitations. The tightness of their unfair discriminations slackens, the awareness that they are prejudiced grows, the issues of segregation and isolation of restrictive measures and memberships in groups are re-examined.

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION:

The beginning point of a teacher's orientation to community may in fact occur anywhere. (S)he may interact in the community as a person; or in her role as teacher at school; or in the children's homes' or in her

capacity as committee or group member in the community - roles brought over sometimes from her experiences in other communities.

ORIENTING TEACHERS:

For practical purposes, however, the orientation to community of teachers would be seen to begin at their point of entry into teacher education, at, that is, the educational establishments they attend. Micro-teaching - a laboratory technique in which the complexities of teachers' classroom tasks are controlled as they acquire the skills of questioning, presentation, illustration, response in a defined group and receipt of immediate video feedback - has been developed as a countermeasure for the too verbal and abstract general methodologies currently in vogue. These methodologies effect cognitive changes, but few additudinal changes, and offer little hope for expectation of behavioural changes to occur in teachers.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION:

To acquire skills under training conditions is one matter. To add to, modify, select from and apply them in the variety of continually changing matrices of relationships presented by each and every group in each and every community at each and every confrontation require experience, and they require support.

TEACHER EXPERIENCE:

The formative reaches of the experience have to be built in during the supported or training period. There must be no superior-inferior relation between lecturer and student at this time, lest the student either resist because resentful or become dependent. Support must be available as the experience is lived. Additionally, provision has to be made for community experience to be conceptualised early and continuingly in a teacher's career through in-service programmes. Teachers have actually to learn the principles for themselves of how to explore any community. They have to learn by living in and by exploring their influence upon and the influences on them of communities, in the plural.

There is, as far as I am aware, no as yet apparent substitute for this experiential awareness of community. Community can only be conceptualised as a rigorous academic discipline on the basis of community experience. Community living is too complex an activity for an individual to lift his/her own sights of community by tugging at his/her own bootlaces. A theoretical, case-study approach to understanding a community fails to influence individual teacher's behaviours and attitudes when they are

actually living in a community. Theory may re-inforce the behaviours and attitudes acquired by teachers as youngsters, but it does not equate with changes to these attitudes and behaviours.

CHANGED ROLE OF TEACHERS:

The rather lower than high regard in which the Australian public regards teachers is acting, as I see it, as a pressure to change the role of teachers in the community. Teaching, once a select calling in order to inculcate children of the elite, has tried pathetically to retain its elitist styles with the indroduction of schools for the masses. The children of the masses have (inconsiderately) reacted against the style. Meanwhile, at the older ages, management education and advertising have helped noticeably to erode the elitist attitude towards scholasticism. One result has been a more earnest endeavour - perhaps too earnest an endeavour - by schools to equate their programmes with vocational selectivity. Instruction now tends to be argued in terms of consumer necessity.

CONSUMER EDUCATION:

The society that would compete as a developed one in an automated world must, it is argued, be a society that provides instruction that is suitable to all, including its indigenous sub-cultures. One component in the growth of an automated society is well-schooled man- and woman-power. Bureaucracy and militarism demand it, and will continue to demand it, in stronger and stronger terms.

This consumer style education threatens greater and greater contradictions in the fabric of the complacent. One contradiction, not dichotomous, but evident, is that posed by the demand of more schooling for all, more knowledge for all, speedier acquisition for all, at the same time as the call goes out for more divergent thinkers, more creative people, more who can innovate. The contradiction can be traced essentially to the need for more time to be spent on earlier groundwork and on more cohesive team-thinking with wider ranging loci from which is available to each individual a wider range of eventual (and later) specialisations. A foundation that lends itself to seven major changes of vocation for each individual in a working career is talked of. Certainly engineers in the USA seem to be at the head of the stream at the moment with their two-year tenure in positions. Can our teachers, trained in the present system, cope? I am one who thinks not. Further, I think that if the present system is perpetuated any longer that teachers must expect to be relegated to even more minor roles than what they now enjoy in communities in particular and in society in general.

COSTS:

Change is, I believe, being forced upon the system. For one thing, school buildings are pricin g themselves out of existence. Equipment in these buildings is pricing itself out. The increased demand for more and better schools is being paralleled by increasing costs. I saw plans in July 1970 for a 125 pupil school at an estimated cost of the building only, $A338,000., The school has to then be furnished, equipped, staffed, maintained. It was a primary school Then follows the need for a secondary school. Tertiary establishments are an equally pervasive drain on finances. Just around the corner is a demand for more pre-schools. Around the next corner lies a need for adult education.

CONTINUING EDUCATION:

Community awareness implies awareness of the need for continuing education. Education from the cradle to the grave opens up the vision of school buildings as community buildings and of the concept of the building and the processes it houses making possible their emergence organically from the community - not as items introduced into and imposed upon the community as isolated, disjointed items within the community.

Continuing education has two dimensions - the dimension of birth to death education and the dimension of daylight to dark education. School buildings function in this pattern from 6 am to 4 am, 365 days a year. With continuing education available in both dimensions, the current concept of school goes. The concept of a market place, or bazaar, opens up. The quest by individuals for continuing and deepening learning grows, and as it does people shop for, search for, this learning in the best markets. In a sense the grocery supermarket in its more developed phases is the consumers' forerunner of the future learning centre where expendable knowledge is continually up-dated by usage, from which usage a turnover dividend emerges.

LEARNING CENTRES:

The feasibility of learning centres is founded on the existence of a quest to learn that each of us, unique individuals that we are, demonstrates. The feasibility is reinforced by the upsurge of change in knowledge that accompanies the automated age. The learning centre makes it possible, at the same time as it demands, that the role of the teacher become that of fellow learner.

FELLOW LEARNERS:

No teacher at any age level, any longer has a prerogative over a body of knowledge. Knowledge is at the moment changing at the rate of 8% per year. In twenty years pupils will be working on knowledge of which 70% has not yet been discovered. In the lifetime of a school child the facts (s)he is taught as a first-grader will be completely refashioned by the time (s)he sits for (what I trust will have been abolished) the School Certificate examination. (S)he is out of date in his/her knowledge before (s)he leaves school. A corollary of this knowledge change is that what was considered advanced level stuff for us is now swallowed by people years younger. The hard work of learning to read is now seen as 2- and 3-year old play stuff. At this age they now read, calculate and depress keys meaningfully on machines. For these, anong other reasons, teacher of today and tomorrow can no longer be regarded as purveyors of knowledge - but they do have a role as fellow learners.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE:

The role of fellow learner claims legitimacy of purpose insofar as we, all of us, have more experience with regard to our own lives and needs than as any other. A teacher's role is seen no longer to ask, "Why did you do that?" - that is, of intervening in another's behaviour - but to be perceptive over the question, "What does this experience mean?" This role accepts the eagerness of all individuals to be active in pursuit of their own self-growth, to learn continuously, and continuingly to seek to interact with other equally eager fellow learners.

In a part of this sense all community members are teachers becuase all are fellow learners rich in one person's experience - their own. The special role or function of the teacher is to streamline, short-cut, sift, refine, examine, along with other learners, in order that for all more chances are available to understand more of themselves and of the world of people, events and situations of the past, the present, and the potential of the future.

EDUCATION:

It is thus that I would define education - as the process of applying what we learn. I would keep the term instruction to refer to that which we apply after we have been taught, and indoctrination to describe what we apply after we have been drilled. The educated person, then, is the person who applies what (s)he learns. The learning we do is always personal to us and is the nexus of the innovator, the creative, the original, the divergent, all of which emerge within the expression of the unique self each person is.

Perhaps, above all, what the teacher in this role needs is the chance to understand that it is the constant interaction processes transacted among people that educates. What, then is so often labelled education is indeed not such. Failure to recognise the mis-application of the process that education is has been, I suggest, a major reason for the constant faltering of teachers at their task.

COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT:

If this role of fellow learner can be established by teachers then I suggest that the spiral of communal living will, in a century, have moved a complete turn. From apparent self-sufficiency in the multi-functional life of communal times. Mankind can turn once again to look at the deep satisfactions that repose in personal face-to-face relationships. Mass and de-personalised living can be re-aligned so that people can once more be placed in perspective as people, at the same time as benefits accruing from specialised automated (and predominantly material, but with computers also more logically awared) production can raise the standard of living of 100% of the world to that enjoyed now by the world's 40%.

THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY:

Individual as it is and significant only at the individual level, a teacher's role in a community is played most effectively, I submit, as a person who is perceptively aware of his/her self as an interacting fellow learner. In such a role a teacher makes possible growth in a community by supporting the fellow members (learners) as they involve themselves responsibly in what they consider significant to themselves. As they and the teacher cope and shape these tasks to their own and other communities' satisfaction, they continue to become aware of other members, of other communities. The community awareness grows to be of international proportions.

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THE MAORI LEADERSHIP CONFERENCES

COMMUNITY ADVANCEMENT OF AN ETHNIC MINORITY

S.R. Morrison

The situation in which the Maori people of New Zealand found themselves in this century is one common to the whole of the 'developing' world - the conflict between modernity and tradition. Although the notion of a tradition - modernity dichotomy will appear to be explicit in this paper, the writer is well aware that there is no pure "tradition", just as there is no pure "modernity" since both are only ideal abstractions all too easily elevated to dogmas. They are, however, useful models in that they help us to understand the reality of the interaction of one or the other. Differences in the degree and tempo of this interaction is to be expected from country to country particularly where modernity expresses itself in the forms of the majority culture and tradition defends its positions in terms of the ethnic minority culture.

In New Zealand, of the total population of two and two-thirds millions, there are about a quarter of a million people who identify themselves as Maoris. Nearly three-quarters of these are resident in the Auckland province. In the city of Auckland, one person in eight is of some degree of Polynesian blood (Auckland city is the largest urban congregation of Polynesians to be found). Two of the city's census sub-districts are now 50% non-European and include migrants from the Cook islands, Samoa, and Nieue, Tonga and Tokelaus. These Polynesian islands are regarded as areas of special responsibility in respect to emigration.

However, the project with which the Department of University Extension of Auckland University was concerned particularly over the last decade, was restricted to the Maori people of New Zealand. The Pacific Island Polynesian presence is quite a recent phenomenon and the first occasion in which leaders of the island people communities of Auckland participate takes place in August 1970. It was a Maori member of parliament, the late Sir Aparana Ngata, MA, LL, B who first expressed public concern over the conflict between tradition and modernity and translated that concern into action. In the 1920's he turned to a group of educated young Maori men

who had recently been educated at a Maori secondary school called Te Aute College and challenged them to take up the role of young leaders - men who knew both the modern world but still treasured traditionalvalues. The group were popularly known as the Young Maori Party. Ngata's political eclipse and the effects of the depression years delayed the group's development and it was not until 1939 that the first national conference was convened and for this occasion Auckland University College played host. The 1939 Conference sought to define the areas of Maori concern about their future advancement in the areas of land ownership, education, employment opportunitiés, health and Maoritanga - the traditional values now under threat.

In the years immediately following World War II, the period which saw the first significant drift of Maori people into the towns and cities, some tentative experiments in Maori adult education were made, particularly in the province of Taranaki, and then in the Auckland province, with the appointment of the late Dr. Maharaia Winiata as the first Maori adult education tutur. For the ten years before his death Winiata, with tremendous vigour laboured to find solutions to immediate and concrete problems, to arouse public concern about these issues and to increase Maori awareness of and pride in his cultural identity.

In 1959, the time seemed ripe to take up again the issues raised at the 1939 Conference. Particularly in the fields of land tenure and social welfare, there had been legislative attempts to find solutions. There was, however, a strong feeling among Maori leaders that they had not had the opportunity to sit in judgement upon these matters. Accordingly a national conference was organised to seek a Maori consensus on the various statutes dealing with fragmented land titles, system of land tenure, the persistent loss of Maori land, the conflict between the mystique of Maori land ownership and the modern concept of land as an economic asset and to take up the issues of education, health, job opportunity, housing and the preservation of traditional values.

The surviving members of the 1939 Conference were invited to form the elders' round table. It is a Polynesian tradition that young men and women do not have views contrary to those of their elders and for this reason, except in plenary sessions, the pattern of young leaders meeting and debating separate from their elders was followed in this conference and in all subsequent ones. In the main, the elders have been more concerned with legislative control of land ownership and attendant issues and the young leaders with matters of housing, health, jobs and education. Both groups, as would be expected, joined in showing concern over the impact of modernity on tradition.

During the conference, it became obvious that all these matters should be taken to the people, if attitudes were to be formulated and developed, or changed. It was resolved to attempt a 'grass roots' educational programme over the next few years and to attempt to have these issues discussed on every marae in the province of Auckland. Victoria University College and Canterbury College also organised a few conferences. When planning the 1959 conference the problem of who should be invited as young leaders had apparently been solved. Maori organisations of all kinds were invited to nominate young men and women who had already shown some concern by taking an active role within their own organisations or institutions or tribal committees.

At first it proved too difficult to secure nominations of women but eventually a few names were sent to the organising committee. Another problem was the organisation of the agenda. The various issues to be discussed were broken down into a series of questions which made up an elaborate programme. The discussion on each of these, the recommendations made and the plenary decisions were all recorded in detail and a copy of each given to those attending as a guide to further regional conferences with the injunction that each should seek to arouse concern in his own region to have the issues discussed at regional conferences. Over the next five years sixteen regional conferences were organised with local elders and young leaders from the region and again the proceedings were made available to each of those attending with the responsibility of taking these written records to all local meetings as a guide to discussions on the local marae or organisational meetings. There could have been few Maoris in the area who did not participate in these discussions.

The success of the programme of conferences was due in part to the felicitous combination of traditional means of communication with modern techniques. The spoken word is still of paramount importance in the transmission of ideas. The written word, particularly if it is recorded in words and concepts commonly used by Maoris, gives form and accuracy to the spoken communication and the transmission of the ideas of others. Respect for the opinions of the elders was preserved while the opportunity for the challenge of new ideas was also present when the two generations met in plenary sessions. In these confrontations it was not the individuals but age groups that clashed, and while the views of the elders tended to prevail there was usually some modification before consensus was achieved. At the very least, elders were made aware that the next generation had different views as, for instance, on questions such as birth control.

There are many ways in which the series of conferences might be measured. As one who was very closely involved in both the planning and

administration (the writer of this paper was chairman for all the seventeen conferences held to date), any evaluation will tend to be taken from a position within, rather than a detached view. The immediate impact was very great both in terms of the proportion of the Maori people involved and in the amount of public attention attracted. Both press and radio provided, on all occasions, very full reports.

The value of the conferences might be measured in terms of legislative changes in which the conferences played some part or in terms of the amount of new information acquired or in terms of greater confidence in the management of their own affairs, or in the changes in the climate of opinion about the value of education. If, however, the writer was pressed to single out one result it would be the clarification the conferences brought to the thinking of Maori adults (and to a certain extent of that of the European majority) on the basic issue of how tradition co-exists with modernity, of what is vaguely expressed in the ambiguous terms 'integration' and 'assimilation'.

For the first century of cultural contact the European 'modernists' had regarded the traditional culture of the Maori people as an interesting oddity, which, in the process of integration, should and would be discarded, and, for many Maoris, this was an accepted view of the more or less distant future. What did emerge was a growing awareness that this view of integration was not only a gross over-simplification of a complex process but one that will not bear critical examination and, in that respect, is dishonest.

Implicit in this view of integration is the notion that 'odd' means not only different but inferior as well. Also implicit is the assumption that cultural integration is like adopting a young child into a foster home. He automatically grows up as a fully accepted and accepting member of the new family. But the modernists do not take this parental view. What, in effect, they say is "Be like us but not one of us".

If the 'ethnic' traditionalist is not to be one of us, what is he? How does he answer the question for which there must be an answer before he can find a place in society - "Who am I?" His only answer can be found within his traditional culture and to this he must cling, and to the modernist he must say "If you reject my culture you reject me." Surely an understanding of the process of integration begins with an appreciation of the nature of such a society - that it is, and will be for the forseeable future, a plural but not a static one and that modernity will influence tradition and be influenced by it. From recognition of the reality of the process will come the opportunity for acceptable change

and community advancement.

A social group who know who they are, gain or retain the security which fits them better to face the changes to modern society. An appreciation of this reality of modernity and tradition is particularly important to the educationalist. Education in these circumstances involves more than teaching skills and new information.

If the process is to be successful it also involves a change of attitudes and such a change to modern life is more likely to be achieved if a man feels secure in his traditional culture. He more willingly participates in the change of attitude, not only because he feels secure but has given himself voluntarily to change. While a beginning has been made to translate this new appreciation of the nature of integration in New Zealand much more needs to be done in the difficult field of modifying the educational curriculum.

THE DISADVANTAGED - PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL PROVISION

Dr. C. Duke

The liberal education of adults is among the uncertain professions. Its ends are large and indeterminate. Its means are seldom exposed to examination in relation to those ends. Whether or not they are in principle amenable to such examination, there is little evidence that they are in fact subjected to it. As with social work, the needs of society for adult education, as perceived and described by the professionals, and, less commonly, by other social observers and commentators, are limitless, but the resources available are meagre. Where possibilities are vast and goals grandly remote and general, and where the means at our disposal bear no resemblance to what is required effectively to tackle the task, there is an avenue for flight from accountability. Indeed, accountability becomes virtually impossible, and a kind of irresponsibility almost unavoidable.

This I believe to be the position with Australian Adult Education today. Before I develop this analysis of the condition and operation of our agencies, I wish to add a note to Dr. Haines' discussion of the concept of disadvantage, developing historical dimension to his reference to alienation, since this may help to give substance to what is also a largely theoretical and analytical rather than a descriptive paper.

To do this I draw on a recent essay by an American sociologist, Ralph Turner, entitled "Theme of contemporary social movements". (1). Turner's interest is slightly different from mine here: he asks "what contemporary social movements are all about and what they signal with respect to major changes in our social system". What I got from Turner in addition was a clearer recognition of the ephemerality which characterises our social concerns and our understanding of disadvantage. To quote from Turner:

> "... any major social movement depends upon and promotes some normative revision. In case of movements having the greatest significance for social change this normative innovation takes

> the form of a new sense of what is <u>just</u> and what is <u>unjust</u> in society. This is quite different from merely saying that the leaders and followers of a movement discover a problem and seek to do something about it.... The change we are speaking of is represented in the difference between conceiving of a problem as a <u>misfortune</u> and conceiving of it as a state of <u>injustice</u> ....
>
> Another way to indicate the distinction is to speak of <u>charity</u> as compared with <u>what people have a right to expect</u> ..."(2)

Turner goes on to consider major waves of social movements in these terms, especially what he calls the <u>liberal humanitarian</u>,concerned with people's right to an opportunity to participate in ruling themselves, and the <u>socialist</u>, concerned with the right to the essential material needs of life. Turner suggests that the power of both of these conceptions of injustice, the liberal humanitarian and the socialist, has been largely exhausted, even though the main themes persist into the succeeding eras, such that new movements retain much of the earlier language and symbolism. In the late twentieth century, he contends, both liberal humanitarianism and, less obviously, socialism, have declined in vitality as movements to rouse populations to reform. The new conception of injustice which Turner identifies is of the <u>lack of a sense of personal worth</u>; one hesitates to use the over-worked and loosely employed term, alienation. The man who feels not worthy is not new, but "the notion that he is indeed a victim of injustice is the new idea... The picture of young people proclaiming to the world that they have not found themselves and expressing consequent indignation is simply incomprehensible in terms of traditional conceptions of justice."(3). The term alienation used in this context refers not to what Marx intended but to a psychological or psychiatric condition. The underpinning philosophy which rationalises this new sense of injustice is existentialism. The <u>modus operandi</u> for the reformer is socio-psychological and socio-psychiatric; he is (sociologically) concerned with the social order rather than specifically with the political or the economic. The central emergent norm is the view that men have the right to assurance of a sense of personal worth from society.

I will not explain more fully how Turner defends his selection of alienation in this sense as the key to what is going on in modern society; his paper is clearly written and easily accessible. Instead, I conclude this section by picking out two other references from Turner which may be related to our own situation.

In discussing the way that these major movements conveying a distinctive interpretation of social injustice are operationalised he writes of solutions as myths. There emerges a tacit agreement that certain specific procedures and conditions shall be accepted as the achievement of the goal,

universal suffrage and its trappings, for example, for the liberal humanitarians. It is fruitful to consider both what may be the accepted myths for the resolution of alienation and, more immediately, what specific procedures and conditions we in adult education accept as the attainment of our goal, whether the goal be couched in terms of alienation and anomie or in terms more familiar to adult educators. Do we operationalise in terms of filled classrooms, tidy registers, proportions of the catchment population reached annually or over a five year span? In terms of subjects taught, levels reached, or period of study? Or do we operationalise our remote and general goals in terms of disadvantaged groups encountered and affected? I suggest that we are currently too confused over where we stand, both within our own tradition and in relation to the changing norms and values of the larger society to begin to answer these questions, either about alienation as distinct from political and economic concerns, or more specifically about the disadvantaged groups identified in the contents of this Conference programme. We do employ solutions as myths - solutions in terms of what may be registered or quantified - but they are not solutions which fully engage with the dominant concerns of our society, or of individuals including each of us who are members of it.

We are, however, drifting towards new provision in adult education as a largely unconscious response to the new sense of social injustice which Turner identifies. I can best explain this by referring once more to Turner's paper. Discussing the situation of the American Negro, Turner refers to "the theme of achieving human dignity and a sense of personal worth..... beginning to play a larger and larger part in the ideology of Black protest... The repudiation of integration is an assertion of personal worth, renouncing the idea that a black would demean himself to the extent of wanting to be accepted among whites..... As Victor Palmeri remarked, 'The name of the game now is status and identity, and only measures that reach these issues can be expected to have effect' " (4). I feel confident that most people present will recognise some echo of this if they are attempting special provision for the economically, socially or educationally "disadvantaged".

Even two years ago in Leeds - and two years is a long time in the recent history of race relations and alienation movements - I was uncomfortably aware of the tension between activity designed to ameliorate the political, economic and formal educational position of the coloured immigrant or his child, and alternative, even exclusively alternative, activity designed to enhance a sense of personal worth. No actor in, or close observer of, the contemporary Aboriginal/white society situation can be unaware of the same kind of choice and tension there. What is today's content for an adult education programme for Aborigines, European migrants, urban or rural poor, or even, if we mainland Australians get around to it, for the indigenous peoples of Papua and New Guinea? Do we seek to foster a sense of personal

identity and worth, or are our efforts directed ultimately towards greater social competence and economic security, for the children if not for the adults whom we teach? Or both?

Or do we evade the question, consoling ourselves that if we are doing something for the disadvantaged - which means for identifiable minority groups usually with special funds from Aboriginal Affairs, Immigration or elsewhere as a boost rather than a threat to our mainstream general educational enterprises - then further questions are out of order? Though as individuals we reject such a solution and do indeed agonise over what we should be doing, whether we should be "doing something for" at all, I believe that as providing agencies we evade the issue and take refuge in generalised statements about educational programmes; as agencies we settle for occasional special provisions and do not take ourselves far into an analysis of where our agency involvements with the disadvantaged lead us, philosophically speaking. This may be in part because we are unhappy about where such analysis, followed by action, might take us organisationally speaking, whether it might jeopardise our organisational security and our professional self-concepts.

I will take up shortly the subject of organisational security, organisational identity, values and change, with some suggestions of how these might affect our provision or lack of provision for particular disadvantaged groups. Before that I wish to remind you of some of the questions raised by Dr. Haines, and to indicate briefly what I take to be their direction and implications. Dr. Haines discussed the necessity of connection between education and disadvantage; if there is none, he suggested, we have no business taking such a theme in this Conference. He raised questions as to the distinction between public good and public interest, as to who decides what is the public good and who decides who are disadvantaged, and how. He also suggested a continuum from incidental to intrinsic yields from education which systems analysts should recognise, though their terminology might differ. Dr. Haines suggested that the relationship between formal education and disadvantage might relate to the incidental rather than the intrinsic purposes of educators. Here he puts a finger on a most sensitive area of our attitudes towards the disadvantaged or (what I believe is operationally identical) towards particular minority groups suffering social and economic disadvantage.

Most providers of liberal adult education, I believe, are mild social reformers by inclination who favour amelioration of the lot of the socially and economically underprivileged. They see their work as more or less directly contributing to this end, although they may be publicly cautious because they recognise the political dangers inherent in making such a commitment public to their providing and supporting bodies. I cannot advance empirical evidence for this belief, though it would not be difficult to

conduct a study of adult educators which would test it. Meanwhile you might provisionally check its subjective viability for yourself and for colleagues known to you.

Why do we make special provision for minority groups? Or, if we fail to make provision, why do we devote a full annual conference to such a theme? I suggest that social injustice is a concern of most in our profession, and what we believe we are or should be doing something about it through our work. But it seems to me that Dr. Haines is also suggesting that there is a non sequitur between such expectations of traditional provision in adult education, which is explicitly and sometimes aggressively individualistic, non-vocational and non-credit, and the by-product or incidentals (educationally speaking) of the formal educational system by which that system produces, reinforces, or at least fails to ameliorate, social and economic divisiveness and disadvantage. Are our adult education efforts on behalf of minority groups designed to make amends for the socio-economic side-effects of earlier educational provision, to help to restructure society in a less inequitable way? Or are we concerned merely with minority groups, with the underprivileged, as and where they are? Is our purpose to help, move and change them, or is it merely to minister unto them, educationally speaking, as and where they are and will remain? If I may sharpen my point without unduly weighting the argument I will remind you of that verse, now lamentably omitted from modern hymnbooks:

> "The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate,
> God made them, high and lowly, and ordered their estate."

I suggest that we do not think through the implications of our personal sympathies and social values in professional policy-making, and yet we allow these sympathies to affect what we provide. If we mean to provide job-access for individual migrants and Aborigines, for unsupported single mothers or bright country boys deprived of good secondary schooling, there are more efficient and precise means at our disposal than we now employ. They may, however, be means which lie outside the traditional armoury and paraphanalia of the liberal adult educator. If we mean to change society so as to remove the cause of underpriviliege in minority groups as groups, then other strategies again suggest themselves. Most likely we would move then to selective elite intervention designed to change the attitudes of dominant groups in political and economic power, or of the leaders of the minority groups themselves so as to secure more effective action. At the moment the terms of reference and the ways of operating which we inherit and work with virtually disable us from working effectively for disadvantaged groups as groups, and leave us little scope even to work for them as individuals.

It might be argued that our purpose is not social change, that our ends are strictly and narrowly educational. I confess myself hardpressed to make and adhere to this distinction, both in my own thought and policy-formulation and as I observe the activities of colleagues in other agencies. Usually, it seems, we wish to help migrants or Aborigines not just because they are there, but because we would prefer them to be elsewhere, socially, politically and economically as well as educationally speaking. And we could find examples of special courses for special groups among our collective provision which quite explicitly set out with such goals. If however, it is argued that education is our business as an end in itself, then on what grounds do we feel responsible for one group more than another? Why do the disadvantaged figure so often in our thoughts yet so lightly among our clientele compared with the socially and educationally advantaged? Again the answer lies within our inherited and chosen belief: we offer educational services to those who value and seek out education voluntarily and in their own time. De facto, this precludes the great majority of the educationally underprivileged or disadvantaged for whom the incidental benefits of formal education (but the benefits by which non-educators judge education) were not forthcoming.

The implication so far is that one major problem of special provision for the disadvantaged is located within our own value system and generally accepted modes of educational provision. We may be reasonably clear in one way whom we mean by the disadvantaged (though the planning session which produced this conference tended even to throw doubt on that). We are not clear what it is our business to do for or with the disadvantaged as individuals or groups, since action within our traditional modi operandi is largely ineffectual and since we have elevated these means into values or ends-in-themselves invested with our professional and agency identities. Added to this difficulty is the one which I discussed earlier: that the concept of disadvantage is itself undergoing significant change, such that society's goals for the disadvantaged are no longer clear and consensual. In practice we settle for the occasional special course, perhaps with special ear-marked funds, largely outside the mainstream of our educational provision; we console ourselves that this is doing something special for the specially needy and avoid re-examining our whole programme in the light of the concept of educational or other forms of disadvantage. Where we make a form of special provision, say for Aborigines, we probably hedge our bets as to goals (alienation and identity versus political and economic rights) by combining elements which enhance social and political competence or power with elements designed to enhance a sense of belonging through affirmation of identity. Throughout we are constrained by doubt as to whether special provision stigmatises and whether it is any longer our (middle class dominant society) business to be changing others towards our own image. As one possible way out of this morass I would remind you again of Palme's treatment of educational disadvantage as loss of control through lack of understanding, discussed by Dr. Haines.

It would be useful at this point to review special provision for disadvantaged groups by Australian agencies of adult education as traditionally understood. In preparing this paper I circularised these agencies - State, University and W.E.A. providers of liberal adult education - with a series of questions about their special provision and about their attitudes to such provision. Replies from several university departments other than New South Wales - "we do not offer courses in this field" - were lengthy. The general position is conveyed in the concluding remark from the New England reply: "It will be apparent from the above that we regard our indirect contribution through training, research and example as our most important contribution to the education of the disadvantaged". All the university replies call attention to the university's distinctive high-level role in adult education, and to the consequent difficulties about making direct provision for the educationally disadvantaged.

Replies were also received representing provision by the Adult Education Board in Tasmania, the W.E.A. and the Evening Colleges in New South Wales, the Adult Education Centres in South Australia, and a number of centres in Queensland. Some respondents raised explicitly the problem of definition. For example: "it would have been helpful if you briefly defined and illustrated exactly what <u>you</u> mean by disadvantaged groups". This would indeed have begged, or rather answered, one of the main questions which prompted the enquiry: what consensus <u>does</u> exist as to who are "the disadvantaged". There did in fact emerge a degree of consensus in that many respondents referred to Aborigines, Europeans or migrants, the aged or elderly, and the geographically isolated. There were also occasional referrences to prisoners, to women, to trade unionists, to the economically or socially underprivileged, to inmates of homes, the physically and mentally handicapped, and to alcoholics. One Centre Principal referred to financially, geographically, educationally, and socially handicapped, and to combinations of these, adding that "most of the people in our area would be at least geographically disadvantaged" and probably disadvantaged in one or more other ways as well. Such perception of the situation largely resolves the question of special provision by evasion or redefinition. More generally respondents indicated either that special provision was outside their province or their terms of reference, or else indicated that they were aware of deficiencies but lacked the resources to do anything about it. Our reply simply said that "we... do not have any of the disadvantaged groups taking part in Adult Education" and left it at that. The official position in both Queensland and New South Wales is that there is no specific responsibility but that any request or approach would be considered. Within the former State, however, there was a range of attitudes and replies; one Principal at least felt that there was an official attitude which positively discouraged special as against general provision in the State. In New South Wales "the Evening Colleges have no direct responsibility to provide for disadvantaged groups".

All requests have been met fully to date: there was not more special provision as there were not more requests. "I repeat. The Evening Colleges exist to meet the expressed needs of the Community. If there is no demand, there are no courses."

Several replies indicated that there was no particular or special provision at all. One remarked: we are primarily an educational agency". One respondent from outside the universities pointed out the difficulty of going beyond established forms: "... an approach to providing adult education for these groups would hardly fit into the pattern of conventional provision (which nevertheless can remain a useful factor). Structures of educational approaches which suggest themselves are (i) on-the-job; (ii) adopting skilled worker techniques;(iii) exploitation of behavioural/social scientific knowledge; (iv) integrating into the programmes pre- and post-educational care; (v) whole-of-family educational care, etc."

This rather scanty review of a survey which was itself incomplete in terms of replies nevertheless points up some of the difficulties of both definition and provision discussed in this and in Dr. Haines' paper. There are clearly institutional obstacles in the way of special courses for State agencies and universities alike. Logically prior to provision comes the difficulty revealed in some of these replies, that the agency perceives itself only as responsive to approaches, not as initiating according to some definition of educational or social responsibility.

I cannot here report each form of special provision being made by the general agencies of adult education, even if I could resolve the problem of definition so as to know which courses to include. What my questions revealed, however, and what most of us already knew, is that special provision for disadvantaged groups or individuals, however defined, is insignificant even beside general provision of adult education which, here as in comparable societies, serves almost exclusively the relatively well educated and the socially and economically secure.

Where a relationship with social mobility has been identified liberal adult education appears to follow rather than to precede or cause the upward mobility. (5) It appears to provide a reinforcement and a means of personal adjustment for those whose careers or marriage rather than formal education make them social "spiralists", not an avenue for social or occupational advancement. This is largely speculative, but we can say with confidence that the education which we provide generally reflects and possibly even strengthens the socio-economic order. So far as education may be an independent variable, it is basic formal education which takes the part; liberal adult education appears rather as a dependent variable, a reflection of the system rather than a leaven.

Would we change this if we knew how? Although we periodically mourn the absence of the uneducated, the unwashed and the impoverished, it is possible that nothing would appall us more than to have our classes and courses swamped out by the various minorities who together comprise the masses. The danger is pretty remote but it is worth asking what our reaction would be. Such a transformation of clientele would surely transform and redefine the agencies of which our professional selves are a part. I doubt whether many of us would tolerate such a transformation or be able to cope with it. If I am right there is a significant disjunction between our mouthed philosophies and purposes for the other ninety-five percent and what as institutions we strive to do.

I move now more specifically to the agencies or organisations which provide adult education. I propose to do this not by diagnosing the strategies and forms of behaviour of particular agencies, much less by characterising such behaviour as healthy or pathological. Instead I take a number of ideas and insights from Philip Selznick's Leadership in Administration (6) and invite you to make such applications to your own organisations as seems appropriate. I make no attempt to summarise what Selznick has to say, or to offer a complete review of his range of organisational concepts. One virtue of this source, to me, is that he writes of organisations in general and only once, briefly, about an organisation which happens to be producing not motor cars, economic policies or military strategies, but programmes of adult education. I adopt this technique in this paper as a way of steering between the extremes of generality and specificity. It is for each of us, in reflecting on our particular agencies, to apply the questions as they appear to be relevant. Generally, however, I am asking what kind of organisations adult education needs to provide leadership and to take necessary risks.

Selznick describes his study as an essay on the nature of critical decisions and of institutional leadership. He distinguishes the formal structure which he terms the organisation from the more complex living social organsim which he terms the institution, and he calls attention to the external environment and the boundaries as well as the internal dynamics of this organism:

> "...when an enterprise begins to be more profoundly aware of dependence on outside forces, its very conception of itself may change, with consequences for recruitment, policy and administrative organisation at many levels....." (7)

How conscious are our agencies of such dependence, and with what effects? As an institution develops its self-perception or identity this may affect its ability as an agency to ask the right questions; it becomes in a sense

self-conditioned. "Just as doctirnal orthodoxies help natural communities to maintain social order, so, too, in administrative agencies, technical programs and procedures are often elaborated into official 'philosophies'."(8) Generally the more precise an agency's goals and the more technical its operations the less opportunity is there for social forces to affect its development; correspondingly, th[illegible]s adaptable will it be. Purpose, emotional identification, self-i[illegible] infused with values make for strength and energy in a crsis but they are costly to the agency in terms of flexibility and scope of leadership. They may indeed reduce its capacity to survive in new conditions. For Selznick the test of infusion with value is expendability. Where does each of us rank our own organisation in terms of doctrinal orthodoxy, precision of goals, and expendability of values? Are we better equipped to survive a short-term crisis than to cope with long-term change in the external environment? And what are the implications, either way, for special provision for minority groups?

Selznick maintains that organisations embody rather than create values; in so doing they become institutionalised and concerned with self-maintenance. Security-conscious leaders value stability before quick returns. There develops "a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of the group in the face of new problems and altered circumstances". The organisation becomes valued for itself rather than just for what it does. Technical aims and methods merge with personal and group interests. Thus value infusion and self-maintenance are closely related. Again, there are questions here for how we conduct ourselves both generally and with reference to the special provision discussed in this paper.

Turning more specifically to leadership, Selznick sees the leader's distinctive responsibility as defining the enterprise's mission. Often it is precisely the organisation's goal which is problematic, but which is taken at given. A converse problem occurs when goals are accepted superficially but do not really influence the structure of the enterprise. There is failure also when survival is confused with success; while survival conditions must be secured they are not the same as goal attainment. Yet size and security are the criteria often employed. The leader's task is also to secure dynamic adaptation to changing conditions. Selznick uses an analogy from psychoanalytic theory by Fromm to distinguish dynamic from static adaptation; in the former "there is no simple one-to-one relation between an isolated stimuius and its response". In organisations dynamic adaptation takes place in "the shadowy area where administration and policy meet": "... in this sector we find such adaptations of leadership to the interplay of internal and external forces as result in basic institutional changes. This is the area of 'character-defining' commitments, which affect the organisation's capacity to control its own future behaviour. The range of discretion becomes limited, often in un-anticipated ways; or it may be

significantly broadened".(9) How aware are we of the effects of decisions taken in this shadowy area where policy and administration meet, and how concerned about restricting or constraining ourselves by special commitments in new directions?

Selznick sees the character or an organisation as set by the acceptance of irreversible commitments. "The formation of an institution is marked by the making of value commitments, that is, choices which fix the assumptions of policy makers as to the nature of the enterprise - its distinctive aims, methods, and role in the community. These character-defining choices are not made verbally; they may not even be made consciously."(10) We each need to ask ourselves how far and in what ways our institutions are fixed by which irreversible commitments; conversely, do we avoid developments which we fear might limit our degrees of freedom in the future? (Selznick comments on co-operation with other organisations as a field of administrative action fraught with possibilities for loss of control. He suggests considering the power implications of co-operation as they affect development and the implementation of policy.) How conscious are we of the less obvious character-forming choices which we have made or are making? How far do our decisions to re-affirm and adhere to particular formulations of purpose or method constrain us and limit the scope of our enterprises?

Turning more specifically to the tasks of leadership, Selznick considers first the definition of mission and role: "He must specify and recast the general aims of his organisation so as to adapt them, without serious corruption, to the requirements of institutional survival".(11) One strategy employed to avoid adequate definition of mission is "the retreat to technology": "in particular, if a leadership acts as if it had no creative role in the formulation of ends, when in fact the situation demands such a role, it will fail, leaving a history of uncontrolled, opportunistic adaptation behind it".(12) Selznick provides a footnote reference here to Burton Clark's study of opportunism in Los Angeles adult schools.(13) Clark's schools evaded their responsibility by adopting an ideology of service which left the definition of goals to the public which was external to the organisation. Opportunism of this kind may be one recurrent concern of adult education leaders in Australia. Yet Selznick treats the retreat to technology, for which we might substitute the retreat to particular forms of class provision or styles of educational administration, as another means of evasion of commitments on the part of leadership: "The retreat to technology occurs whenever a group evades its real commitments by paring its responsibilities, withdrawing behind a cover of technological isolation from situations that generate anxiety. This endangers the central task of goal-setting.... Institutional aims cannot be taken as given, for they are conditioned by changing self-definitions, by alterations in the internal and external commitments of the enterprise. If the effect of this process is to be

controlled rather than left to opportunistic adaptation, an awareness of it is essential. And we have maintained that an excessive or premature technological orientation inhibits this awareness".(14) I would suggest that, whether or not we are contemplating commitments to special provision for disadvantaged groups at present we each examine our attitude to such provision; if we feel ourselves invulnerable from the kind of criticism levelled by Clark at the California adult schools then Selznick's discussion of a retreat to technology might prove pertinent. Conversely, if we find no retreat to technology it may be that we abdicate our goal-defining responsibilities to the public, the society or the providers of funds, so exposing ourselves to a charge of opportunism.

Pressure of time dictates that I skip substantial sections of Selznick's analysis which need more translation to apply to our professional situation. We might pause briefly to note his reference to historical stages in an organisation's life. He writes of critical policy decisions in terms of selection of a social base (choice of clientele or market, etc.) and of a segment of the social environment within which to operate, in terms of core-building (development of a homogenous staff who can then indoctrinate newcomers), and of formalisation by routines which reduce the number of leadership decisions needed. We need to consider whether such formalisation is premature, and what adaptations have been or can be made at the time of formalisation. We might also note and reflect on his discussion of the Ford example of deep initial commitment to one form of production and the heavy cost to the organisation of a reorientation over twenty years towards sales and public relations. (15) In this instance the long-term goals of the organisation remained unaltered but overcommitment to one means towards those goals cost the firm dear. Selznick emphasises here the desirability of at least the key participants being able to understand the phase through which they are passing as the organisation moves from one stage of development to another.

A little later Selznick moves to what to my mind is a critical dimension of organisational life for adult educators, in discussing precarious values and the defence of integrity. I began by referring to ours as an uncertain profession, in which we have grand and remote goals but uncertainty as to means, and lack of criteria for defining what we have achieved. An organisation is threatened when the integrity which it wins from its distinctive values, competence and role is vulnerable because those values are themselves tenuous and insecure. This appears to be the condition of liberal adult educators in our society. Selznick writes of the maintenance of social values as being dependent on the autonomy of elites or professional groups charged with their protection, taking as one illustration Bolshevik strategy in the period 1924-35 of going into isolation to build a strong and dedicated political party uninfected by other social values.

Again, I see a fruitful analogy for adult educators who see themselves charged with a precious and precarious value in a world in which even the universities are not to be trusted. Professional identity reinforced through relative isolation appears as a natural consequence of our assumption of and identification with liberal values in a particular sense. This perspective may also help to explain why we do little in practice by way of special provision for particular disadvantaged groups, especially where this implies co-operation with outside bodies and possible encroachment by them.

Part of Selznick's concluding remarks is headed "beyond organisation". He writes here that "the protection of integrity is more than an aesthetic or expressive exercise, more than an attempt to preserve a comforting, familiar environment. It is a practical concern of the first importance because the defense of integrity is also a defense of the organisation's distinctive competence ...." And a little later: "The lesson is this: Those who deal with the more obvious ideals - such as education, science, creativity, or freedom - should more fully recognise the dependence of these ideals on congenial though often mundane administrative arrangements.....

From a policy standpoint.... most of the characteristics of the responsible leader can be summarised under two headings: the avoidance of opportunism and the avoidance of utopianism...." (16)

We may conclude these extracts and insights on this note, for it is a crucial one for most of our agencies. We are all prone to frighten ourselves with one or other of these extremes, and perhaps to drift unseeing towards the other danger. On the one hand we should beware of institutional surrender in the name of survival; Selznick recommends testing and even changing rather than succumbing to the environment of the organisation, as well as warning against invasion and domination of parts of one's own organisational territory by others. Short-run opportunism may also create distrust and so render the environment still less secure.

Equally serious can be utopianism, or over-generalisation of purpose to a point where it becomes non-operational and in a way meaningless. "To make a profit" for a business concern is matched by "to provide liberal adult education" for any one of us. Such a statement of goals provides no criteria for decision-making; thus "the polarities of utopianism and opportunism involve each other".

Lest I leave an impression of negative criticism from Selznick, I conclude with a comment on the role of myth: ".....creativity depends on having the will and insight to see the necessity of the myth, to discover a successful formulation, and above all to create the organisational conditions that will sustain the ideals expressed. Successful myths are never merely

cynical or manipulative even though they may be put forward self-consciously to further the chances of stability or survival... The art of the creative leader is the art of institution-building, the re-working of human and technological materials to fashion an organism that embodies new and enduring values.... When the organisation is in good shape it is easier to put ideals into practice. Old activities can be abandoned without excessive strain.... Security is bartered for consent...."(17)

It might appear that I have wandered far from my subject, the problems of special provision for disadvantaged groups. I do not think so. The provision which our agencies for adult education make or can make is controlled among other things, by the nature, the strength and the flexibility of our organisations, by our awareness of and attitude towards the dimensions of organisational life and development touched here. Special provision for particular groups raises questions of priorities in the allocations of relatively scarce resources and effort. It therefore rests particularly on the clarity and confidence with which we recognise our goals and are able to translate them into modes of provision relevant to changing social situations. If we have vested what are essentially ephemeral means with the values of ultimate purposes, if we feel insufficiently secure as organisations in the supporting environment of other organisations and the providing client public, then we are prone to swing to the pole of opportunism or the other pole of rigid utopianism coupled with a flight to technology as means of operating. Then we are inadequate to the task of coping with either principles or practices attendant upon more effective provision for the disadvantaged.

This paper has been at a level of generality which some may find inappropriate or hard to apply. I therefore conclude with an illustration which is more concrete and more personal than what I have said so far. It is intended to illustrate the kind of approach which I consider to be necessary if adult education is to be used to "help the socially and educationally underprivileged, and also to illustrate the difficulties in the way of moving a well established agency of adult education into new modes of provision. It should be made clear that the kind of self-examination which I have been suggesting is not an alternative to education as a form of social action. I seek both to question what I am doing in terms of philosophy, ethics and social and behavioural science and at the same time to get on with doing it; probably this is common ground for most adult educators.

My illustration is a tutorial class called "modern society and immigration" which I conducted for two years in 1967-1969 within the programme of the Leeds University Department of Adult Education. The third year of the course corresponds with my first year in Australia and I write here, therefore, of a course advertised as a three year tutorial but run for two years.

(In fact the third year has been taken as a rather small group by a new tutor at the Department but I do not knowwith what result.) I became interested in the coloured immigrant population of Leeds partly from Liberal sympathy already well established, partly through the accident of living in the ghetto quarter by chance when first I arrived in the city. As my knowledge of the W.E.A. tradition developed I also became curious to know whether the spirit of the first working men's classes early in the century might not be recaptured in a class for intelligent socially and economically low-placed immigrants; there seemed to be a valid analogy. My appointment at Leeds was to the extension, not the joint committee tutorial side of the Department, though one of my four classes was in fact a tutorial class, the result of internal trading between the two sections of this part of the Department's work. I spell this out in order to explain the processes necessary to run the class I had in mind.

Leeds was, and is, firmly wedded to the three year class as the best ways of employing its limited resources from the Department of Education and Science earmarked grant for liberal adult education. Both joint committee and extension classes normally run for three years. To offer a class to immigrant leaders I was thus tied to a three year course, with the unattractive option of offering a one year introductory class which in effect meant holding a group together for four years instead of three. Since the extension programme was intended for the well educated, the tutorial programme for the minimally educated - not that that always corresponded with student reality - and since the Leeds extension programme in that city was always held entirely on campus, it was first necessary to have my vacant teaching spot transferred to the tutorial part of the Department. This encountered a certain amount of resistence, since it upset the balance which was a matter of concern within the agency; loyalists on eitherside tended to seek the most viable activities and periodically to demonstrate the greater success, reflected in registers, of their section. "I should add that something of a merger has since occurred." My proposal was therefore administratively inconvenient.

To my mind a class which was community-based in support as well as by geographical location within the city was essential if anything like a three-year class was to succeed in any sense. It meant of course doing one's own proselytising, since the W.E.A. in Leeds had not made any impact on coloured immigrants, and the extension service in Leeds relied deliberately on a rather academic and remote form of publicity designed to appeal only to university-type people. In the end a class of about sixteen was recruited and entered in the register, of whom a dozen became a regular working group throughout the two years. Most were West Indians; a minority were active community-minded whites of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination or Congress of Racial Equality kind, politically left and socially committed. The recruitment period was an anxious time. Even after six formal meetings

in halls or homes in the area earlier in the year, and a large number of informal social contacts with individuals and small groups, it was a struggle to get into the register enough names to fit the Department's standing orders for the establishment of classes. The Head of Department made it clear that taking the class into the tutorial programme and acting as a tutor-organiser was my business; though he warmly supported the effort, he warned that this was as it were, a private leisure-time venture which would inevitably erode one's social life and/or academic research time.

I have spelt out the background and genesis of this class in some detail, not to call for bouquets but to illustrate the kind of adjustment, negotiation and effort required to begin a modestly off-beat class within the framework of an established Department's philosophy and value-system as translated into quite firm rules as to nature and form of appropriate educational activity. The Department was making special provision for a disadvantaged group to the extent of one quarter of one academic appointment for at least the first year, with the risk of three years and the prospect that success might open up a new area of regular activity. (Criminology, launched tentatively for policemen a few years earlier, blossomed almost overnight into classes accommodating some 400 students,) there was of course no guarantee that any success I had would lead to a regular committment, but there was enough obvious organisational interest and sympathy in both Department and W.E.A. for one to feel hopeful. I hope I have not been unfair to individuals in the agency in what I have said; my emphasis here is on the organisation and on the processes whereby innovations are unde liberately hampered.

I turn now to the class itself. Was it successful? In answering this, I must sketch briefly what happened. A mixed coloured-white group studied together for two extramural years, holding additional unregistered meetings occasionally as well. A register was kept and a viable group were left to enter the third year. I suffered some agonies of conscience in keeping the register (partly resolved by passing it to a class secretary and letting him interpret the rules). At Leeds anyone who arrived ten minutes after the announced starting time or left ten minutes before the end, did not qualify for an attendance mark. Often there would be only one or two students present at the advertised starting time of 7.00 pm, or when we shifted it, 7.15. On the other hand, by about 7.45 or 8.00 we would be complete and a bit after ten we would move over to the pub for a drink before closing time and often for continued discussion with friends of members of the class who were drinking or playing darts there. A compromise with conscience and regulations thus permitted the survival of the class as part of the departmental programme; more crudely, we cheated to surviv..

The class met in a large detached house rented from the Corporation by the United Caribbean Association as a club-house and spasmodically improved by the more active of the UCA's members. The house was also periodically broken into and robbed by the rival minority group within the Association who claimed to represent the real will of the Association and the local West Indian community. Several officers of the Association were members of the class. The leader of the rival group was both in a class member and club secretary when the class started. He was one of my main avenues of access to the community at first. As rivalry in the club became more keen and the law was periodically invoked (both lawyers and police) he dropped out of the class as well as being kept out of the premises at other times. Another member of the class not originally a member of the club became the new president and, after several months of unrewarding effort, pulled the club together and began to make an impact in the eyes of both the local West Indian and the dominant white community.

The lives of class and club interwove closely and fed each other. We set out with a dreft syllabus each year, designed to provide an understanding of social structure and social process in general, and also of the nature and survey methods of sciology; throughout this was related particularly to migration and to the situation of minority groups in Leeds and England. The class had a well-stocked book-box each year and most students made good use of it, though some were slow readers. The scheme of study was periodically revised by the group, mainly because we tended to fall behind our own targets. All members prepared contributions in the form of papers or introductions to discussion at various times. The academic quality and the basis of formal reading which went into these varied from quite good to non-existent. The personal significance and the relationship and relevance to community membership, role and behaviour was often high. At the end of each year it was possible to present a quite respectable sum total of pieces of written work submitted in relation to size of class.

Thus survival and even respectability was secured in terms of tutorial class criteria. Subjectively I believe that students got a little out of books. Some learned to read more effectively, or became confident in using public library resources. I believe they got a great deal out of the discursive study of sociology through their immediate club, family and community experience as this was discussed in class and examined in the light of a few fairly simple and fundamental sociological concepts. What I am saying is that not more than two or three would go on to read regularly or systematically in my subject. In this sense, in terms of my organisation's criteria, the class failed. On the other hand I believe that each member acquired and will retain considerable sociological insight and understanding about his or her own role in association, family, community and society, and about the structure, interrelations and processes of the institutions and groups to which each belongs.

The main single formal effort of the class went into a survey of slum clearance and rehousing a couple of streets from where the class met. The area had a large coloured minority including friends of members of the class or of their immediate friends and neighbours. Students, together with a few friends not members of the class, interviewed residents before they were rehoused and, where possible, again after the move. I was given access to the Housing Department records and was able to feed into the survey and match up with our own material information not normally available to even more high status citizens than the members of the class. Naturally, this exercise helped our study of sociology and social administration. It would be justified to my agency in these terms. More importantly to me personally, it enhanced the overflow effects of the class into the local community. It produced tangible results among residents in the clearance area and in the main immigrant area where we met, which was being restored instead of cleared, and it affected awareness, attitudes and administrative behaviour in the Housing Department itself. The Director of Housing instituted regular meetings with migrant community leaders (including one from the class) to discover minority group views and needs. His officers amended in minor ways their conduct of rehousing procedure and in some cases probably also their treatment of individual clients.

Beyond this, and for me more significant as a successful outcome of the course, members of the class acquired more skill in conducting both association and community affairs. I refer not to techniques of book-keeping or letter-writing, but to an applied understanding of association dynamics and community processes. A colleague and I ran two weekend sensitivity training sessions for a West Indian group, half a dozen from the class and two or three outsiders; this might have been continued, had either of us remained in the city. The association was coming to be run with more recognition of its potential and direction, and of the implications of particular kinds of activity. Much of the work of the class "flowed over" into the club and was discussed with non-class members. Members acquired more confidence of what they were doing, which manifested itself as in more able contributions to meetings. Negotiations with those who wielded or represented the dominant society's political and economic power were handled more effectively. To take two illustrations: Members of the class and of the club effectively demonstrated against a discriminating landlord in the district and had him removed by the brewery; and members of the class intervened effectively to secure suitable representation on the Community Relations Committee then being established to appoint and control a Community Relations Officer.

This kind of success was bought at a price. Discussions of club activities and rivalries and of domestic and local community affairs often intruded on and distorted to the scheme of study which the class itself had formulated. To a departmental visitor the situation at times would have

seemed scandalous; practicalities, apparently clearly not academic, were raised, discussed, and sometimes resolved in class time. Sometimes non-class members of the club would come in for all or part of a session; sometimes the class would start very late because the group of us were consulting over some legal or furnishing problem.

At all times I was aware of my purposes as a tutor in sociology, but equally aware of the action-research and community development dimensions of my self-imposed as distinct from officially sanctioned task. There is no doubt that what happened frequently deviated beyond the official bounds of departmental tolerance; to what extent there was conscious collusion over breaking the rules which the organisation set its members I am uncertain.

I have taken time to sketch experience with one class designed for a disadvantaged group, in an attempt to illustrate some of the difficulties that can be encountered. Even so I am aware of skimping. I have not fully represented the senses in which I judged the class to have been a success and a failure. Nor have I mentioned its personal impact on me and on my pattern of both social and academic life. Without elaborating I may say that it transformed my research effort over a period of eighteen months (and would have dominated it had I not moved) and no less radically transformed my social life and experience. My wife and I were drawn into leisure-time activities and friendships which completely altered our perception and experience of Leeds; the class changed me at least as much as it changed any of its students.

I wish to close not on this personal note, the point of which is to emphasise another kind of "difficulty" attending special provision of this kind, but by referring back to the organisation. Although I understand that a rump of the class has continued to meet this eyear with a new tutor, my impression is that in the long run I have failed. I doubt whether either adult education organisation, University department or W.E.A. will expand its definition of its task and its modes of provision so as to include regular and effective provision for this particular group. The pull of subjects, classes and registers as means is too powerful; my survival with this class was at the cost of private and unexplained compromises with, and evasions of, the system. To achieve a lasting organisational commitment I would have needed to confront rather than evade the formulae and inherited value assumptions of the agencies concerned. One or two individual West Indians remained in regular communication with the Department and so with the white academic world of Leeds. One or two joined the W.E.A. and attended meetings at the University or at Swarthmore, the adult education centre near the university. Some participated in a weekend course for social workers on working with coloured migrants in a Saturday evening social situation designed to permit encounter and mutual understanding. But special provision has not been institutionalised, not incorporated into the agency's self-concept, its definition of what it is and where it is going.

Mine will probably go down as an interesting experiment by one bright young man who worked hard and did a good job, but a job only possible with great effort beyond the limits of duty. If so this is a misperception and it was my failure to have allowed this interpretation to become established. I am not devaluating my own effort or achievement, of which I remain proud. I am saying that my efforts should have been directed no less into the organisation so that my kind of special provision became . organisationally understood, accepted and incorporated into that organism's self-definition. I don't know whether my failure stemmed more from enjoyment of the virtuoso role or more from cowardice before the tradition and presence of the Leeds Department. Probably both in equal measure. But I hope I have said enough about this particular class to explain why I believe that adult educators concerned with special provision for disadvantaged groups should attend more closely to the character, values and purposes of their organisation, and why I have devoted so much of this paper to that subject.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Ralph H. Turner "The theme of contemporary social movement", British Journal of Sociology XX, December, 1969.

(2) Turner, op.cit. 390-1.

(3) Turner, op.cit. 395-6

(4) Turner, op.cit. 402-3

(5) See for example Ian Hanna's study of adult education in Leeds "Socio-psychological survey of student membership of adult classes in Leeds..." (M.A. thesis, 1964).

(6) Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (Harper & Row, 1957).

(7) Selznick, op.cit. p.7.

(8) Selznick, op.cit. p.14.

(9) Selznick, op.cit. 34-5.

(10) Selznick, op.cit. 40,55.

(11) Selznick, op.cit. 66.

(12) Selznick, op.cit. 75.

(13) B.R. Clark, Adult education in transition: a study of institution insecurity. (Berkley, 1956).

(14) Selznick, op.cit. 79,82.

(15) Selznick, op.cit. 109-11.

(16) Selznick, op.cit. 139, 141.

(17) Selznick, op.cit. 153

EDUCATION AND DISADVANTAGE

The idea of "disadvantaged groups" in the philosophy of adult education

Dr. N.F. Haines

1. *Introduction: two modes of explanation*

We all know what we mean, without philosophers or analysts to tell us: if we did not, we would not be able to manage our own lives, let alone take a hand in running other people's. Yet we think it is possible and necessary, to come to know what we mean in different ways: to re-organise our experience, if you will, and especially to adjust what we mean to the experience of others wherever this is possible. If this were not so, why would we spend days sitting about talking in conferences? We are here to explain ourselves to each other and in that way to create or recreate, community. If we are not so disposed, then we are likely to act on this assembly rather as a fog on morning traffic, a ship in the wrong lane, crossed wires in a computer or a scrambling device in a telephone.

We know already what we mean by 'advantage", "disadvantage", "educational disadvantage" and "disadvantaged groups". But this kind of "knowing" at any rate - perhaps all kinds - is not like a photograph we can pass around or even like an "identikit" picture to which we can all contribute. When we say here that we "know" we have begun to take up positions, combative ones perhaps, we may not actually or even figuratively be fingering our weapons, but we have begun to dig in and are prepared to go on the defensive (1). In our internal, intellectual organisation these ideas are arranged according to certain familiar patterns and it takes an effort to dislodge them, to consider other possibilities.

But of course we cannot leave it there. We are teachers, educators; we must communicate or go out of business. If we only could reach agreement quickly as they do in business, as military men must in war. There is one way of explaining ourselves which can, in some circumstances, save time and effort. In this case, for example, we could make up our minds at the start on two or three groups we propose to do something about;

groups we have had in mind from the start, and go on from there. We might agree at once that migrants form such a group, settle for language as the key disadvantage, slap down a demand for a large government subsidy, dispose of the whole question in an hour, and settle down to wait the odd year, or two until the grant turns up. Or doesn't. Even so there might be snags: it would only take one of us to raise a question about which sort of language, or which kind of language need should take priority, for the thing to drag on and other kinds of question, about the meaning of disadvantage and education, to seep in like water into the carburettor.

Nevertheless, this common sense mode of explanation is both useful and necessary. Let us call it the operational method (2). What we do is to explain the idea of 'disadvantaged groups' by finding out what it is we propose to do in continuing education. Something of what my colleague Dr. Duke has to say in his paper may be of this kind. His account of his tutorial class in Leeds, "Modern Society and Immigration" could, I think, be studied in this way - as an operational account of disadvantaged groups.

I have to use another method of explanation: the logical. If I take up a few moments saying why I believe this method to be as important as the operational, this is because we can no longer take for granted, even in such a company as this, agreement about the uses of reason. The poet, Yeats, contemplating the decline of reason and (no doubt) of faith wrote:

> Now that my ladder's gone
> I must lie down where all ladders start
> In the foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart".

Since Freud (among others) we have been urged, not only to look into our "hearts" (which we should), not only to look upon this symbol of the feelings as exclusively a "foul rag-and-bone shop" (which it isn't), but to lie down in it as if our species never had invented means of access to higher vantage points and nobler aspirations. In other words, having rid ourselves of old, rationalistic illusions we have plunged into "new", romantic and irrationalistic ones against which we educators have at some point to take an uncompromising stand. Now whatever shortcomings have been found in formal logic or newer logical procedures, if we are, as a community of educators, to retain some distinctive contribution to human civilisation we must show ourselves capable still of reasoned discourse and critical discrimination when dealing with the shifting trends and fashions in opinion which now invade every department of life. This is justification enough for spending some of our time on the difficult and irritating exercise of logical analysis and explanation.

The English moral philosopher, R.M. Hare, pointed out some years ago (3) that the family of words to which "advantage", "disadvantage" belong have

meaning at two levels: what he called a primary, or universal meaning, which does not ary, and a secondary, descriptive, contextual meaning, which does. So, what we have called an operational account of disadvantaged groups would be descriptive, taking the context of present-day Australian society as its definition; here, in this logical exercise, however, we hope to get some insight again into the primary, universal meaning which concerns us as educators.

This kind of exercise may go before policy-making or interrupt it. All philosophy is in a sense a hiatus, a suspension of the flow of energy (4). All philosophy, and perhaps all art, too. (perhaps civilisation thrives on such interruptions.) It has to do with a way of knowing which reduces our dependency on immediate experience (5) yet it can, I believe, yield insights indispensable to understanding, let alone wisdom.

2. Advantage, Interest and Good

"Advantage" is like "advance". It means change of a special, valuable sort: the kind of change we often represent as "going forward" or "going up" where the goal is betterment. "Disadvantage", presumably, has to recognise different levels of achievement, enjoyment, satisfaction or states of affairs. The odd thing is how coy we have become about such pricing or grading ideas. We are almost as shy about using "good" and "bad" for example, as our grandfathers were supposed to have been about sex. Recall how John Mill had no scruples at all a hundred years ago in talking about some people as superior to others; then consider how we have slithered, in half a life-time, away from such words as "primitive" (let alone "savage" or "barbarous") through "backward" (with only a short stop) to "underdeveloped" until we seem finally to have reached a decent egalitarian stop by referring to the "developing" nations. Anything rather than say that some people are better than others - though no misgivings at all in saying they are better off.

So it comes as no surprise to discover that teachers (at any rate) seldom if ever talk now about wanting to do good. We are much easier following the economists (Marxists in this at any rate) if we can stick to talking about "interest" - or "advantage". Some historians of ideas think that the shift from "good" to "interest" goes with a decline in the political life of Europe and the United States (6). Economic interest, often personal, individual, displaces good which has that broad, public, universal meaning we said we had to look for. Students of such important political concepts as the "public interest" have even begun to insist that it must be given such perspectives if policy-making is to be undertaken reasonably (7).

If you will recall a well-known passage from Plato, it may help to show the significance of this debate. Adeimantus, Plato's older brother,

asks Socrates to prepare an adequate defence of justice. He says it is no good talking simply of rewards and punishments or saying that it is good to be just because it pays, bad because you will get hurt. Socrates must show how justice is good, injustice evil, "in virtue of the intrinsic effect each has on its possessor, whether gods or men see it, or not" (8). When we speak of "advantage", then, we have to ask whether we mean "interest" as such men as Adam Smith or Jeremy Bentham meant it, (something to be evaluated in terms of wealth or pleasures and pains) or do we also want to mean something more like justice as Adeimantus demanded - a good which has both universal and intrinsic value, whatever profits it yields?

For in fact "interest" is used in ways which are important to our whole conception of ourselves as teachers. Sometimes it means what people demand or say they want (9). Sometimes not. In a United Nations debate on the future of the Falkland Islands some months ago, it was said that the "interests" of the Falkland Islanders should be taken into account rather than their wishes. This distinction proved important: Argentina refused to allow a popular plebescite about sovereignty over the Islands on the ground that she cared more for the interests of the islanders than for their wishes.

Thus: if we educators think of "advantage" as Bentham and others did of "interest" - as determinable solely by the interested individuals (or groups) we put ourselves in something like the ideal market-place stance, as retailers of what our public demands. There is the other alternative however: the one the Irish statesman, Edmund Burke, adopted toward his constituents: that, as their representative, he knew better than they what was in their interest (10).

In discussing disadvantage and disadvantaged groups we have, I think, to come to some agreement on this.

3. Disadvantage and Groups

Now we are talking about groups. Do the groups we mean exist independently: that is, without regard to any judgements we make about their advantages or disadvantages? Or do we already have ready-made ideas of disadvantage, like wrappers, and proceed to fill them up with exemplars, so forming groups which exist only by virtue of their disadvantages? For instance: the Australian aborigines existed a long time before newcomers started thinking of them as disadvantaged; on the other hand, though the poor are always with us, they form a group only on a shifting scale which we help to determine. Operationally, we incline to the first kind of grouping; logically, we shall have to consider the second; the likelihood is that the two ways of grouping should cut across each other.

Then there is the question whether we propose to talk about collective disadvantage or refer only to individuals, irrespective of what their advancement means to the group. It is not difficult to find examples of groups which concern themselves with their collective advantage, or others,

like ourselves, who take an interest in this. Nationalists are interested in collective advantage; so are those who talk about de-colonisation. Nineteenth century liberals had some trouble here: for example, in the American Civil War it is said that even Mr. Gladstone had trouble at one time making up his mind whether to concern himself with the collective advantage of the southern states whose sovereignty was attacked by the north or with the individual advantage of the slaves. It has been known, of course, for adult education enterprises to address themselves to the collective advantage of a class - the working class.

Are we exclusively concerned here with individual advantage? Partly under the influence of anthropology and also out of waning confidence in our own way of life we are more tender than we used to be about the impact of education upon the integrity of alien groups. Some people regret the effect of higher education on the working class family, if not on "class consciousness". How do we regard the fate of racial groups in Australia once the English language and Australian customs have separated the younger from the older? Sociologists of educational advantage on individuals bound to alienate them from such groups with consequences for the group that can hardly be called advantageous, never mind what happens to the individual. The problem is not quite new: our predecessors, the Athenian Sophists, were often accused, with some justice, of harming the integrity of the city. We are not likely to lack for the present, critics who blame educators for divisive influences at work in "western" society generally, whatever is happening elsewhere.

It would be safer then, to concern ourselves with the individual disadvantages injuring members of groups, especially if we have good reason to think that the organisation and culture of the groups themselves is partly responsible for the disadvantage. This would leave us with no cause for concern in the continued integrity of the group itself. On the contrary, we might set out to break it up. But that takes us back to the earlier question: do we educators determine disadvantage, or does the individual? There has to be some kind of ruling here, if we are to take it upon ourselves to threaten the life of a group.

I am not sure we can get out of this altogether even by sticking to artificially created, need-based groupings. Wasn't Freud, or the Freudians, who wanted to expand the number of the "sick", that is, extend the application of such words as "sick" with all that this implies? If we choose to do likewise with "poor" or "ignorant", "incompetent", "maladjusted" and so forth we are going to create new groups (artificial ones) with implications for both group and individual good which ought not to be let loose lawlessly.

One way of reviewing the difficulties here is to use a distinction from political theory between the distribution of advantage and its aggregation (11). That is, if we agree that the "client" should say what his disadvantages are we may limit ourselves to deciding whether we are to increase the aggregate of such advantage in a given group or whether we are

going to insist on more-or-less equal distribution among all its members. We might then be satisfied, for instance, in a given racial minority a few had achieved post-graduate degrees and highly paid positions, irrespective of the general level of literacy or cultural attainment among the rest. We might decide to concentrate our resources on the few to achieve the maximal results, content to know we had added to the aggregate of educational advantage, leaving the rest to them. Isn't this in fact what we are obliged to do in continuing education where we have no captive audiences, no coercive sanctions? Come to that, isn't it what we are obliged to do if we keep to the principle that the client, not the educator, is the "authority" on disadvantage?

Let us take a different line.

Are we, here, an "advantaged" group? If so, and if we define disadvantage in others partly in terms of our own advantages (educationally, culturally, let us say) do we think there is any other way of distributing these goods more widely except through the agency of such groups as this? (You remember Mill extended this: backward nations depended upon the more advanced for their improvement.) Suppose, then, that under pressure from the less fortunate or some other cause groups such as this began to disintegrate or lose their associative force or influence, how should we respond, still having before us the goal of distributing advartage more justly among individuals? I daresay it would be possible to show that we are not altogether free of such threats today so that the question then means, do we, in serving other men's advantage, attach any great importance to our own professional integrity and association or would we (gladly or otherwise) scrap such associations if this is what the (so called) disadvantaged wanted? At some point our alleged concern for individuals may be in tension with our professional-associational responsibilities. This is a little like the constantly recurring problem of tension between individual want or demand and the public interest. What is more to the point: it further underlines the need we always have to be as clear as we can about what we think to be good for ourselves and others. In Soviet Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and other places there are vigorous programmes of continuing education developing with bold schemes for the training of the educators: here, one suspects, confidence is possible partly because there is clarity about the public good as well as "democratic centralism" to enforce it. It is oneof the ironies of our own position that because many of us find such procedures repulsive, we are not only entitled, but positively obliged, to neglect all thought about the public good in our educational programmes and policies, or at any rate rest content with such fragmentary accounts of human advantage that both we and our clients are virtually defenceless against ideological attack.

This brings us to substantive questions about the meaning of advantage.

4. Educational advantage and human good

I assume that, whatever complex view we take of human good, we have no immediate business in this conference with anything we cannot show convincingly to be an educational advantage, or disadvantage.

What is it to be educationally disadvantaged? Some people might equate it with "being prepared" or being successfully initiated into a group. Even in adult education, especially here, in Australia, we have to deal with newcomers. Migrants have to be initiated into Australian society or in some sense prepared to take part in it. If the opposite of being successfully initiated is to be alienated, then we look as if we might have, here, the beginnings of one account of what educational disadvantage is. That depends partly, of course, on a question we have already raised: do we in all cases think it an advantage to be at ease in the larger community even if this means being ill-at-ease in smaller, more familiar associations?

Alienation, too, is a difficult guide in these matters. "Alienation", "social isolation" (14): these are a bit like the corruption caused by naughty books or films - everyone suffers from them except you and me; the sickness is always described in the third person. Yet such symbols undoubtedly do indicate positive disadvantage of some sort even if we have constantly to remind ourselves that exclusion from the groups we value or prefer may look like a positive advantage to the excluded or some other, impartial judge.

"Stigma", or "spoilt identity", are other words people use for disadvantages which resemble alienation or non-initiation (15). I refer to them here because they illustrate rather well one of the difficulties we are running into today, as educators, when we address ourselves, no longer to ignorance, superstition or manual incompetence but to such broad and all-embracing concerns as human disadvantage. There is a stretch of frontier between Switzerland and France where the roads run back and forth between the two countries and, if one's face is not known, it is possible to be presenting passports and bearing the scrutiny of customs every mile or so. A customs union would ease the problem, or the levelling of the Jura. I believe we have a similar problem in education today with disadvantages the care of which takes us back and forth across the frontiers between education and healing and I do not think it is possible to take too much care how we resolve it. Just as the dividing line between normal and subnormal has been said to be "not a cliff but a slope" (16) so that between education and therapy presents no sharp lines of division yet, if the differences are not seen as clearly as the resemblances, poses a threat to all that makes education a possible ally of human dignity and public responsibility.

To illustrate this I recall what Erving Goffman has said about stigma":

"the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance" (17).

He is talking about educational matters. He says that there are jobs in America which "cause" those who have not the required education to conceal the fact. (Do note: it is the "jobs" that cause the deception, if any.) In other jobs those who do have a higher education are made to keep it a secret. Otherwise, in both cases, they would be marked down as failures and outsiders. We see, first, that the "disadvantage" in both cases is educational: in the one case, the lack of it, in the other, a superfluity. We see next that if we are to regard this embarrassment as "stigma" then we have to "blame" the job, the system and so forth, and by no means address ourselves to the individual's own management of the situation, directly. If we follow disadvantage in these directions, in other words, we go into areas of social and psychological engineering which, whatever their justification and potential for good, take us far away from our own limited competence and concern.

Incidentally, Goffman issues a warning in this little book which we may find salutary. He reminds us that there are "categories of persons who are created by students of society and then studied by them" (18). Perhaps we are not altogether innocent of this pastime when discussing disadvantaged groups.

These are various possibilities, some of which some of us have already taken up in organising our thought, and indeed our policies, toward the disadvantage. We come now to the heart of the matter: the notion of what is, or is not, in some special sense the advantage of education.

People interested in costing education in the community have to pay attention to this question. What have we to "sell"? Does it help the individual student more than the community? If so, should he pay more than the state pays, and so forth. If now, on the spot, we tried to draw up a table of allgged educational advantages we might find we could distribute them along a continuum between the opposite poles of the intrinsic and the incidental. I show in a footnote to this paper how a definition of these might be undertaken. Somewhere in between the intrinsic advantages of education (enjoyment of understanding, and so on) and the incidental advantages (a chance to travel, new friends) would come goods or advantages for the attainment of which education of a kind is an indespensable instrument. I introduce this idea solely to encourage us to say what kinds of advantage or disadvantage they are which we propose to direct our operations. And again, we are brought back to the question <u>who</u> decides? Do we retain the initiative? If so, upon what grounds?

I think many of us would still like to take our stand on certain educational goods we regard as ends in themselves, as intrinsic educational advantages. We want to see these protected by educational principles and institutional arrangements and, whatever else we concede or undertake for a

public, to manage our enterprises and do our teaching as men and women who know what is good for our fellows and are determined to give it to them, if possible. If we do take this position (and I think we should) then there is both an educational and a political principle at stake. For the moment I speak only of the educational.

What are these intrinsic educational advantages? However we describe them the logic of the matter will give us headaches. We are obliged to make choices and apply them in policies, to grade human goods, and insist upon putting our own judgement first in some cases. This goes against the grain in our time.

In one respect we usually flatter ourselves in continuing education that we are not as other men: most of us do not rely upon coercion to secure captive audiences whose position we can then exploit to their profit. Yet we can hardly distribute any good thing at all without coming up against the good or evil effects of earlier, coercive, education. You might even think this constitutes a prime educational disadvantage: this mangling or frustrating of curiosity and wonder which often happens in the schools. Still, the schools are accountable in ways many of us are not. Besides, however upstage we get about the schools and coercion, or even about undergraduate training, in the universities, and the bait they can dangle, how do we propose, after all, to distribute our intrinsic educational advantages if we cannot attract into our orbit more than the infinitesimal minority who keep us in sherry and learned journals at present? The answer lies, I suppose, in our readiness to exploit the whole range of educational advantages, instrumental and incidental, with teaching methods or educational procedures which succeed both in distributing what is demanded and conveying, to some at least, what we regard as the higher good.

Yet we have still to ask what these higher goods are or even to find some working account of educational advantage. I wonder if it would be fair to ask us, in explaining the intrinsic advantages of education, to demonstrate what we mean by them in terms of the amount of time and effort we spend on enjoying them? ("Just think of those poor, disadvantaged people who have to go to a match, watch telly, or lie on the beach while I sit here entranced with Wittgenstein's Tractatus.") The method is crude, I have no doubt we could do better. We would certainly have an easier run in this discussion if we kept to the instrumental or incidental advantages of education. Wages, for instance; or status. Still, if what matters most is such advantages there is alwaysthe uncomfortable possibility that someone, someday soon, will come up with arrangements which will permit the maximisation of income without merit or skill, and even distribution, in capsule form, a euphoria which will dispose of anxieties about status, leaving a continuing education dedicated to such ends no choice but to discontinue.

I think thisobliges me to say something more positive about educational advantage in the hope that it will help us overcome some of these difficuttles.

5. Control and Understanding

A Swedish educator, O. Palme, recently described educational disadvantage as "loss of control through lack of understanding of one's situation or fate as a citizen, participant in social life, consumer, member of a family" (20). This seems a fruitful way of approaching our business. If we take it, however, we will have to keep in mind at least two levels upon which control through understanding has meaning: the personal and the public. In other words, we shall be obliged to face practical decisions in politics and morals, quite apart from the theoretical insights we recognise from psychology and sociology. Given this provision, and provided also we can agree on what control "through understanding" signifies, we may find we have here a general account of educational advantage which goes a long way toward overcoming pestilential oppositions such as that between "vocational" and liberal education.

All I propose to do now is to indicate some of the implications of the notion of disadvantage as "loss of control through lack of understanding one's situation.":

What is it that has to be controlled? Here Palme helps a bit: one's situation, he say, or one's situation as a citizen, a member of various associations, as a consumer, a family man and so on. We would want to add to that - the "biosphere", the human environment, and - the inner life. Let us admit straightaway our scepticism about the degree of control available to men in any one of these spheres: that doesn't absolve us from the attempt to exploit to the full what is available to us.

The two human agents of control have already appeared before us: the person and the group. We have to work out the interaction and balance between the two, using such questions as we have already asked about the relative advantage to an individual as his membership of groups even where these, by some standards, involve him in disadvantage. We may wish to avoid the question whether all or even most people want to control their own lives though I think we are entitled, as educators, to view with the deepest misgiving any philosophy or technique or science which undertakes to relieve them of control.

Most people, I mean, want to be freed from some restraints; far fewer are eager to assume the responsibility which such freedom entails. Education as I see it would consist in explicating this connection, not glossing it over. Emile Durkheim once talked of education, as getting the newcomer to like the idea of circumscribed tasks and limited horizons for in modern society, he said, "man is destined to fulfil a special function in the social organism and consequently he must learn in advance how to play his

role". That jars today. It might sound a little better in the context of a social control in which the participant had a significant share. In any case my guess is that one cannot secure control of one's situation, personally or collectively, without initially and recurrently coming to terms with one's limits.

Control "through understanding" sounds like our special business. Understanding in itself can be a relatively passive state of mind (21). Have we dealt too much in passive understanding in education, far too little in critical, decisive, understanding - understanding for control?(22). Some branches of adult education - in industry, the army, the public service - as well as vocational training are both less inclined to this and prone to get themselves looked down on by others which appear to equate "liberal" with pointless or unrelated understanding. But it would surely be equally if not more misleading to suppose that the distribution of special skills and competence, let alone portions of information, constituted "Understanding for control". For control includes selection, decision, choice and this means knowing what is worth more or less and what is indifferent. This is the proper function of "liberal" studies and there is no real, fundamental, irreducible division between such understanding and the rest once our own, and our clients', life problem is appreciated.

If however, we take this direction in explaining educational disadvantage to ourselves, with all it means for policy making, we may come up with some unexpected discoveries. For instance: we may decide that this community of ours into which we wish to initiate newcomers, this Australian community, the advantages of which we think worth the disintegration of other groups, is not itself so much in control of its destiny that the lines of advantage are all that clear. What does this imply for the continuing education of our people? The answers to that question, or the search for them, might well create an educational community between us radically different from the associations we have formed in the past.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) J.L. Austin's "performatives" ("Other Minds") are what I have in mind though I would also want to say that words like "knowing" are "constructive" though I daresay this is true of far more than we have been accustomed to think.

(2) P.W. Bridgman in The Logic of Modern Physics says: "The concept is synonymous with the corresponding set of operations". This is more or less what is meant here.

(3) The Language of Morals.

(4)

(5) This recalls Jerome Bruner's "third way of knowing" (the symbolic) See The Perfectibility of Intellect. See also Daniel Bell, "Social Change in Education and the Change in Educational Concepts" in Faust and Feingold (eds) Approaches to Education for Character.

(6) Sheldon Wolin, Politics and Vision, p.280.
According to this account "economic interest" displaces "good" in the vocabulary of social control. This begins notably in the work of Thomas Hobbes and subsequently "enters into competition participation". "Interest" becomes a tangible projection of the self, something that "is his own". This is given classical expression in John Locke's conception of property as that which an individual can appropriate "to make use of it to the best advantage of life and convenience". When Adam Smith says that all the rules of justice could, at times, be fulfilled by "sitting still and doing nothing" he is showing us how this displacement of "good" by (economic) interest or advantage undermines the morality of political and social justice, and responsibility. Jeremy Bentham's combination of ardent belief in scientifically promoted progress and the reduction of obligation to utilitarian right is the crude apogee of this development, according to Wolin.

(7) Richard Flatham's work on The Public Interest contains an instructive development of Wolin's thesis. He sees the alliance of "public" and "interest" rather than of "public" with "good" as reflecting substantive changes in political thinking which alter the problems surrounding the selection and justification of public policy.

(8) Republic, II, 367 (Cornforth's translation)

(9) See, for instance, Julius Stone Social Dimensions of Law and Justice, ch.4. and Lasswell and Kaplan, Power, p. 23.
The reference to the debate on the Falkland Islands is from a report in the London Times, March 14th, 1968.

(10) In a letter to his Bristol constituents, The Works of Edmund Burke, (1803) vol. III, p.209, quoted from Flathman, op.cit. p.23.

(11) Brian Barry, Political Argument (1965)

(12) Flathman, op,cit., p.23

(13) A short account of alienation and anomie in Philosophy, Politics and Society (Third Series) by Steven Luke is helpful.

(14) Paul Halmos, Solitude and Privacy.

(15) Ervin Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.

(16) H.D. Lasswell. See Birnbach, Neo-Freudian Social Philosophy p.7.

(17) Goffman, op.cit.

(18) Goffman, op.cit., p. 167 note.

(19) Intrinsic advantages could be said to be those which are enjoyed during what educators regard as formal education and to take the form of immediate enjoyment of, or satisfaction in the activity being shared between student and tutor, consisting in an experience of the subject matter or the problem-solving which is going on; any autonomously achieved repetition of a comparable experience by the student would then also be called "intrinsic". For example: appreciation of the theory as intelligible and as a satisfactory organisation of experience; apprehension of the form of a work of art and so on.

Instrumental gains are such as can be shown to be inseparable from the educational organisation acting as a selective grid for social, economic and political status. Education in this sense is instrumental in securing a place in a profession. On the other hand salary is not as a rule in this category since it is determined by the profession or industry itself.

Incidental gains. Salary is one (as a rule). The travel a man may enjoy as a result of admission to a career which in its turn is available because of education is another.

(19) This is no more than the beginnings of a sketch of a taxonomy of educational advantages. In any case it may have been done elsewhere. The purpose here is simply to illustrate an argument and polarise the possibilities.

(20) Council of Europe's Information Bulletin March 1969, p.50.

(21) "Relatively passive" for no understanding is wholly so.

(22) Theodore Rosask argues something of this kind in a contribution to The Dissenting Academy but I think he overstates his case and gives a somewhat bizarre view of the academic's function. In a paper published in Educational Theory, Winter 1969 (Haines, N. "Situational Method: A Proposal for Political Education in Democracy"), I have said something about the method involved.

EDUCATION IN PRISONS

N.F. Nance

To quote from the "English Prison and Borstal Systems" by Lionel Fox, Chairman of the Prison Commission for England - *"The purpose of prison training is not primarily to inculcate particular skills, but to train the whole man. Education is not to be treated as a thing apart, but must be related to the whole scheme. In its relation to work therefore, the general purpose will be to produce in the prisoner an attitude of mind, a desire to work well for the sake of good work rather than vocational skill, though for persons who want them, vocational courses will be arranged. Nor does formal education in academic subjects take a primary place, though it may be there for those who need it, particularly the illiterate and backward on the one hand and serious students of superior education on the other".*

There are also many prisoners who cannot easily profit by normal educational processes, but can find satisfaction and often obtain mental relief by acquiring a manual skill or learning to express themselves through some sort of creative work, such as art or music. I have seen prisoners whose attitudes and behaviour have been completely changed by inclusion in an art group. Hobbies and handicrafts and the encouragement of any form of creative expression must hold an important place in the education and training programme

It is often through failure in some sort of social adaptation that delinquency has occurred and, because of this, prison education should have a social content. Therefore, a prison syllabus may have as many hours devoted to discussion groups, debates and play-reading as to mathematics, science or geography.

In prison, there may be lectures, concerts, screening of films, radio, television and good books. The screening of documentary films, the listening to stereophonic records can be part of the education programme.

Elizabeth Fry was one of the first persons to recognise the need for purposeful work and for education. In the early 19th century, she organised classes to teach women prisoners in England to read and write.

Alexander Maconochie, when Superintendent of Norfolk Island Prison in 1840, arranged for prisoners with a fair education to instruct the illiterates and teach them to read and write. His many reforms made during the brief period he was Superintendent completely changed the behaviour of many of the recidivist and intractable inmates in the prison.

Prison systems throughout the world are recognising the value of education and recreation activities. Also, that there must be an end to imprisonment and those in prison, especially those who have served fairly long sentences, must be prepared for return to normal living.

In this State, the present classification and education programmes were introduced in 1949 and, since then, there has been constant revision and expansion.

There are problems with a prison education system. Many were underachievers at school, experienced difficulties and had a history of truancy. To obtain the co-operation of these people, education must be voluntary. Prisoners must want to study courses. Every prisoner, on reception, is given a booklet "Make Time Serve You" which outlines courses available, details of enrolment and how to obtain the necessary textbooks. It is surprising the number who request courses and are engaged in the education programme.

The length of sentence is another problem. How much can be done while in the penal institution and can the study be carried on after release? It is possible for courses to be continued after release and quite a number do carry their courses to completion. It must be realised however, that many successful students in the institutions have other interests on release and discontinue their studies immediately.

It is a surprise that there are so many illiterate or near illiterate. Special classes have been formed to teach these people but there are those who will not admit to being illiterate and have set up such a resistance and are so convinced that they are unable to learn to read, that they refuse to attend classes and will make no effort. Full time teachers at Long Bay and Goulburn teach those needing remedial teaching during daytime working hours. At Emu Plains an evening class is provided for illiterates and slow-reading learners.

All first and second time prisoners serving 12 months or more, and all prisoners given a non-parole by the courts, go through the Classification system. They are given IQ aptitude and attainments tests and are interviewed by one of the Departmental psychologists. With the knowledge now available, it is possible to advise the prisoner student of his capabilities and, if he shows interest, help him select suitable courses at levels that he can handle.

Every encouragement is given to those who request general education courses and it is possible for students to commence at illiterate level and proceed through to university studies. One case comes to mind of a prisoner who was at 5th grade primary level when he came to prison and now is doing a university course.

The full range of subjects taught in schools is available to prisoners, including foreign languages and science. At two institutions, science classes are held in fully equipped science laboratories and the students do the same practical work as that done in High Schools. Manual Arts is studied in the woodwork/metalwork classroom at Goulburn.

Every year some prisoners are successful in foreign languages at School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations. Some have studied French, German, Italian, Latin (with a pass in Latin II B - University of New England) and Spanish Level 1 at the 1969 Higher School Certificate examination.

With the exception of classes for illiterates and slow-readers, mentioned earlier, all teaching is done in the evenings between 4.45 pm and 9.15 pm. This is an arrangement which is appreciated by the prisoners. It must be remembered that they are adults and do not wish to be treated like school children. They want to work in the workshops and this enables them to earn wages or bonuses. They are very satisfied to attend evening classes which provide purposeful activities.

The teaching staff come from local high or primary schools and are not directed but themselves seek part-time evening work. As a result, the staff at each centre is engaged in similar teaching during the day to that taught in the evenings. It is my opinion, after years of experience, that this is preferable to full-time teachers. The part time teacher maintains a standard equal to that in a normal school.

At Berrima Training Centre an interesting experiment is being tried. At this small institution - maximum capacity 57 - specially selected first-time prisoners of good IQ potential and prepared to study for the

School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations are given additional study time to prepare for these examinations. All expressed their desire to seek qualifications that would ensure better employment opportunities on release. To date, the interest and progress has been remarkably good. Due to this success, at the Cessnock Plains Prison now under construction, a similar scheme may be put into operation using an education building similar to, but much larger than, the new building at Goulburn Training Centre.

Last year, in any one week, there were approximately 1,000 attending classes and a total of 2,454 students passed through them during the year. Receptions and discharges account for the number differences. When one considers that the prison population in any week is approximately 3,500, attendance at classes is excellent.

Having left school and been employed in industry, there are many in the community, and this applies also to those in prison institutions, who realise the need for higher qualifications. These make the best students.

In addition to general education, many technical courses are available for those interested in vocational training. Last year 1,080 were enrolled in new courses, in addition to those already with courses.

Art and music are encouraged and many attending classes are discovering talents new to them. Many works of art are of high quality and have brought good prices on the open market. Passes at honours and credit level are quite common in the examinations held by the Australian Music Examinations Board, and the Goulburn Training Centre orchestra is frequently heard over radio station 2GN.

As some members of this Association know, prison debating teams have had considerable success.

Before concluding the brief outline of prisoner education, I would like to refer to the use of the tape recorder and stereo player as teaching aids. It is a most interesting experience to see prisoners, with their textbooks open, following a recording of a Shakespearean play and thoroughly enjoying it.

"The social education of a prisoner, in its widest sense, should be taken to cover everything that is concerned with living as a member of society including the proper use of leisure." With this in mind, classes in social graces, hair care, dressmaking, cooking, cake decoration, pottery and handicrafts are provided for women prisoners.

Prisoners serving short sentences of a few weeks or a few months have too short a time to benefit from the normal education or trade programme. For these and there are quite a number who are given sentences of up to six months, a special short course has been provided. Subjects, such as current affairs, items in the daily news, conservation, musical appreciation, art appreciation or subjects of special interest to the group are provided. Each subject is limited to not more than one month's treatment. This enables the short-term prisoners to have interst-ing evening discussions and before discharge, a study subject can be completed.

Opportunities are available to every prisoner, whether serving a short or long sentence, to benefit from the educational, vocational or leisure activities provided in all institutions. The Department of Correctional Services is mindful of the fact that there is an end to imprisonment and training is a preparation for citizenship.

THE RURAL DEPRESSED

N.D. Crew

This paper attempts to describe developments in the rural areas of New South Wales. It does not deal with the situation confronting Aboriginal people who should of course be included in the Rural Depressed and who are affected by the developments I describe.

I think the current depression in rural areas presents a challenge to adult educators concerned with social change and its effects; especially as emotions, prejudice and attitudes are so involved.

The economic situation in country districts, especially Northern New South Wales, is deteriorating so rapidly that much of the latest official data (1967-68 and 1968-69) is irrelevant to the present problem.

Recent feature articles in the "Sydney Morning Herald" have provided an impression of conditions prevailing throughout New South Wales. The articles indicate a serious human problem. The general impression left with the reader is that many hard working farmers are heavily in debt and living on subsistence incomes. From my knowledge of the northern area of the State, the articles convey an accurate description of the present situation. Not all primary producers are rich squatters. There are rich people on the land, for example, almost three quarters of the Australian wool clip is produced on a third of the holdings. But this means that two thirds of the farmers produce only a quarter of the wool clip. (See Appendix 2 for a distribution of holdings by size.)

Recent rough surveys conducted by local bank managers, accountants and primary producers suggest that at least 60 per cent of producers are confronted by severe cuts in their incomes. A large, but as yet unkown proportion of these people are so heavily in debt that their incomes are insufficient to pay interest or repay capital.

This situation has been caused by drought and the cost-price squeeze. It has been estimated that from 1953 to 1964 costs in agriculture increased by about 2 per cent each year. In the period 1965 to 1969 they increased by 4 per cent a year. Prices, however, have either remained constant, or have fallen steadily, the most dramatic being the price of wool which fell from about 50 cents a lb in 1965-66 to 29 cents a lb in 1970.

Prices have been affected by restrictions imposed by the United States - for example the quotas imposed on Australian Meat Exports to the United

States - and restrictions imposed on Japanese wool and rayon textile exports to the same country.

The cost-price squeeze has been accentuated by a prolonged period of drought. In the Northern Tablelands drought or near drought conditions have prevailed for the past seven years and similar conditions have occurred in parts of Queensland for the last 14 years. The North Coast and the Hunter Valley have been badly affected by drought. Farmers and graziers have been forced to borrow heavily to pay for stock food to maintain restricted production.

Drought, declining prices, and increased costs have caused rural debts to increase and many producers doubt their capacity to continue in primary production. Many have placed their farms on the market but few sales have been recorded. There is a general fear that property values will decline. Some people have just walked off their holdings.

The New South Wales Rural Re-construction Board is responsible for assisting suitable farmers who require exceptional terms to continue in primary production. Its last report, June 1969, drew attention to the increasing number of applications for assistance it was receiving. It also predicted a growth in applications. It is understood that this has occurred and about 90 applications a month are being received by the Board from all types of farmers, not only wool and wheat producers. I understand the rejection rate is high because the Board's funds are inadequate for the present situation.

Economists generally agree that the present situation confronting Australian primary producers is typical of that faced by farmers in all developed economies. In essence, the situation is caused by the increased productivity of agriculture in the face of stable or slowly increasing demand for agricultural products. Agriculture increases output faster than its products can be consumed.

Increased productivity has resulted from the substitution of capital (machinery) for labour and increased use of fertilizers and the use of higher yielding variations of what, fruit and animals. There has been a steady fall in the agricultural rural work force. The number of males employed in rural industries has declined from 24 per cent of the Australian work force in 1939 to about 9.5 per cent in 1966.

Up to the present the exodus from the land has tended to consist of the "employee". Now the pressure is on the "self employed" to leave because he cannot earn sufficient to share in the general standard of living. In the last five years the numbers engaged in agriculture declined by 25,000. "Self employed" farmers declined by 42,000 but "employers" increased by 17,300. (See Appendix 1). This indicates the changes occurring in land ownership in Australia.

Almost every country town exists to serve the surrounding rural industry and the people living in the area. Country towns are service towns. Country businesses, tradesmen and workers are being affected by

the current agricultural depression. News items indicate that farm machinery dealers in Wagga Wagga, Inverell and Tamworth have dismissed staff because of reduced demand for sales and service.

Rural people are less vocationally mobile than city people. The city worker confronted by a factory closing down can seek a job in another suburb. He does not have to change his home when he changes his job.

The country person is tied to his place of employment because his work is specialised and few alternative employment opportunities exist. In the absence of employment, country people have to migrate to the city. This involves the sale of their home or property as a first step to migration. Most of us would avoid the necessity to pay rent twice - repayments on a country house and rent in the city. To some degree, the rural person today is in a position similar to the city unemployed during the depression of the thirties.

People want to leave the country but must take cuts in their assets to do so because they must sell on a falling market for houses, businesses and farms. Migration from the country is difficult. I expect that the next release of Commonwealth Employment Statistics will show a dramatic increase in those receiving Unemployment Relief payments in country towns.

Another difficulty confronting many of the rural depressed is that their skills, education and experience are largely irrelevant to alternate forms of employment.

A farmer works irregular hours and is not used to routine. His time sense tends to be geared to the length of shadows and the cycle of seasons. A shearer is a very specialised worker. To fit either ex-farmer or ex-shearer to a useful life will require rehabilitation similar to that provided ex-servicemen after the last war.

Such rehabilitation must take account of the age and especially the mental outlook of country people. Years of drought and falling incomes have created a feeling of pessimism and a sense of failure among farmers. "I was a good farmer but failed to anticipate this" or "I don't know what I did wrong" are remarks one hears not infrequently.

I think too, that there is a general feeling that graziers and farmers are experiencing the end of a way of life. Status, tradition, a strong sense of community, are being broken up by the changes occurring in the rural areas. In many families it was traditional for children to be educated at a particular school. There is now considerable emotional and financial conflict because the family cannot afford to keep up the tradition.

There was also a tradition that land should pass to the children. Now, the general attitude is to break with tradition and encourage the children to seek another vocation. One should understand the force of traditions and its effects on the rural community. To some degree the changes occurring are reminiscent of the decline of the landed aristocracy in England.

These changes are beginningto highlight some problems associated with rural life. Education is one. In some areas - for example, parts of the North Coast, children are not encouraged to continue their education and too frequently leave school with minimal skills. In many cases, however, rural people make great sacrifices to ensure their children receive an adequate education. Because distances are great and the population sparse, children have to attend high schools located in the towns. The solution for many people was to send their children to boarding school or hostels. There is now less demand for boarding schools and more for hostels in the towns.

Many people complain that the variety of courses offered by country technical and high schools is restricted, and that children are disadvantaged because of this. I suspect there is some validity in the complaint.

There i. a strong loyalty to community and community service in rural areas. Depression is beginning to affect many voluntary agencies. I know in one case that finance for church social work has been cut because donations have fallen. A handicapped children's centre has been concerned about future income. Many people in voluntary agencies have spoken to me about their concern for the future of their work because of the problems of primary producers.

Farmers and graziers are psychologically depressed and are suddenly attracted by simple solutions to their problems. The widespread acceptance of a wool acquisition scheme contrasted with the rejection of a reserve price plan for wool in 1965 is an example of this search for immediate action and panaceas.

Country people are hurt and shocked by what they regard as the unsympathetic attitudes of city people as reflected in newspapers and on television and radio programmes.

Rural people tend not to appreciate the industrial development of Australia, and the fact that the economy does not ride on the sheep's back; when they do understand this fact they frequently say "why can't they help us when we need help because our past efforts built export income and made development possible".

There is an element of truth on their side in these statements. The mineral boom on the stock exchange and the growth of mineral and ore exports have overshadowed the role played by primary industries in earning export income. Even with depressed prices and increased ore exports, primary production accounts for about 50 per cent of Australia's export income. More than half our imports are consumed by manufacturing industries. (See Appendix 3).

It is an economic fact that the greater the economic development of a country the greater is the dependence on imports. Trade increases with economic development.

My general impression is that producers do not want subsidies. They

would like policies which reduce their costs of production and which would provide guidelines on the role expected of them in the future.

Many accept the need for change but want help to enable the change to be less painful than they expect it to be.

The current depression in primary industry and in the rural areas provides a challenge to adult educators. The "Rural Depressed" are the products of social, economic and technological change. Such changes will affect more people as Australia develops, and more resources will be needed to educate adults for the new roles they will be forced to adopt.

Briefly, adult educators concerned with the Rural Depressed will have to understand what is occurring and provide opportunities for, among others, the following areas of education:

1. Education for change - to assist people to understand and adjust to the forces of social, economic and technological change

2. Education for new vocations - to assist people to select and be retrained to play a productive and socially useful role in society

3. Education for retirement - to assit people to retire to an interest, not from a job. Such education would be liberal and creative.

4. Education for efficiency - the development of an adequate agricultural extension service itself adapting to and assisting social change.

5. Education for politics and social responsibility - the provision of education concerned with understanding Australia's economic development, and its social and political implications.

APPENDIX 1

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS - MALES

	1961	1966
Primary Production		
Employer	57374	74684
Self Employed	198774	156171
Employee	139132	138337
Helper	11273	8085
	406553	377277
Unemployed	13176	4065
	406553	381342

(Commonwealth Year Book 1962 & 1968)

APPENDIX 2

CLASSIFICATION OF RURAL HOLDINGS BY SIZE N.S.W.

Size of Holdings (Acres)		Number of Holdings
1 -	9	4,561
10 -	19	3,361
20 -	29	2,330
30 -	49	3,385
50 -	69	2,396
70 -	99	2,779
100 -	149	4,540
150 -	199	3,478
200 -	299	5,376
300 -	399	3,884
400 -	499	3,245
500 -	599	2,848
600 -	699	2,922
700 -	799	2,138
800 -	899	2,138
900 -	999	1,969
1,000 -	1,399	6,902
1,400 -	1,999	5,402
2,000 -	2,999	4,863
3,000 -	3,999	2,397
4,000 -	4,999	1,466
5,000 -	6,999	1,557
7,000 -	9,999	971
10,000 -	19,999	1,047
20,000 -	49,999	948
50,000 -	99,999	437
100,000 -	and over	159

Classification of Rural Holdings by Size and Type of Activity 1959-60.

APPENDIX # 3

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE: ECONOMIC CLASS

($'000 f.o.b. port of shipment)

Monthly Average 1968 - 69	Value	Percentage of Total Imports
Producers materials for use in -		
Building & Construction	10.947	3.9
Rural Industries	4.636	1.6
Manufacturing		
Motor Vehicle Assembly	19.665	6.9
Other Manufacturing	97.956	34.3
	133.294	46.7
Fuels and Lubricants	2.782	
Fuels and Lubricants	2.782	1.0
Auxiliary Aids to Production	7.150	2.5
Munition & War Stores	14.511	5.1
Capital Equipment		
Producers Equipment	60.319	21.1
Complete Road Vehicles & Assembled Chassis	9.065	3.2
Railway Equipment, Vessels & Civil Aircraft	6.106	2.1
Finished Consumer Goods		
Foods, beverages, tobacco	10.564	3.7
Clothing & accessories	2.956	1.0
All other	38.607	13.6
	52.127	18.3

(Monthly Review of Business Statistics No. 389 April, 1970)

THE TWO-WAY PROCESSES OF MIGRANT ASSIMILATION

D. Buckland

If we aspire to a healthy society, we should be prepared to administer to the everyday needs of its members before these needs become problems, as prevention in the long run, is better, easier and cheaper than cure. We could divide these needs into:

(a) material needs - job, house, schooling facilities and so forth - referring to them as "primary needs"

and

(b) socio-psychological needs - status, self-respect, dignity, security, love - referring to them as "secondary needs".

We could also postulate that the above two categories of needs could possibly delineate the two stages of migrant adjustment.

No one is talking nowadays of "instant assimilation". They speak of "integration", "mutual adjustment" nd "cultural pluralism".* "Cultural pluralism" is perhaps the most reasonable expectation because, as experience has shown, the more pressure is placed on migrants to reject their language, culture and ways of life and adopt those of the host society, the more they resist and segregate into their ethnic groups. Personally, I very much doubt that any first generation migrant ever assimilates, integrates or even becomes adjusted - South European migrants in particular.

It is generally accepted by Social Scientists and Government officials that the Australian Government does not encourage the influx of migrants for altruistic reasons - except perhaps in the case of displaced persons -

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** For a discussion of the debate about usage, see The Introduction to C.A. Price, "Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest", ANU 1966 and M.M. Gordon: "Assimilation in American Life", Oxford Union Press, NY 1964, esp. chps. 4, 5 and 6.*

but because Australia needs manpower for economic and possibly strategic purposes. On the same basis, migrants do not immigrate in order to help the Australian Government out of its economic predicament; they do so for purely personal - selfish - reasons: either they are poor and they come here to improve their financial status intending, often enough, to make money and return home, or they have fled from their homeland because of religious or political persecutions, or because of some other unhappy experience, or they simply come for the sake of adventure.

It follows, therefore, that the expectations of the Australian Government and those of the migrants will be conflicting. Whereas the Australian Government will expect of the migrant to fulfil its economic and, should the occasion arise, its strategic needs, the migrant will expect the Government to fulfil his personal needs, which at the moment of arrival at least are usually primary: an adequate job, home, school for children and so forth.

It is fairly obvious that the expectations of the Government are being fulfilled; industry in Australia continues to develop further and further, from day to day, thanks to the contribution of migrant skills and manpower. Furthermore the migrants have contributed to the advancement of the Arts, Architecture, Literature, Sport, eating and dressing habits of Australians. In short they are contributing to the advancement of the Australian community, far and above the official expectations of the Australian Government.

But what about the Australian Government? Does it satisfy the expectations of its migrants? Does it fulfil what the migrants perceive as the host's part of the covenant? Migrants, apparently, do not think so and many show it by returning to their homeland, especially those from England and Northern Eruope, where living conditions are equally high if not higher than those in Australia and where the migrant has still his roots: friends and relatives, the "old pub", memories of youth in country walks and so forth. Others remain, not from choice, but because of necessity and therefore are unhappy and counting the days when their financial circumstances will permit them to return to their homeland.

We must point out here that to administer to the needs of all its members is, even for a very stable society, a very difficult task. It must therefore appear as an insoluble problem for our society which is undergoing such a rapid change due (a) to the enormous scientific and technological advances of the past twenty-five years, and (b) to the influx during the same period of over two million migrants from fifty odd countries, with each ethnic group having its own characteristics, culture and ways of

life and each individual migrant his own personality characteristics background, reasons for emigration and expectations from the new country. If to the above we add the individual characteristics of the host society, which is not homogeneous by any means, the picture becomes even more complex.

There is, however, one area at least where the Government ought to have no difficulty in achieving success and this is exactly the first area of expectations of the majority of migrants: the economic area. In an affluent society such as ours there should be no difficulty about satisfying these needs and if we accept that, in the case of the migrants, the economic area constitutes the first stage in the process of their adjustment to the host country, we shall then realise the enormous consequences of neglecting to find solutions to the economic problems of migrants.

My general statements about the immigration process are drawn from the works of prominent scholars in the field* as well as from my own experience. I want to relate the broader, more abstract statements to the concrete details of a migrant's experience, and, because my own work has been mainly with Greeks, most of this material will apply particularly to South Europeans. Nevetheless, many of these probelms can be generalised to other immigrants, particularly the non-English speaking.

How do people feel when they decide to migrate; when they arrive in Australia; and how do they perceive to migrate; when they arrive in Australia; and how do they perceive their new country and the host society? Most of us have experienced the anxiety of moving to a new job or a new neighbourhood, the distress of losing friends and relatives, the frustration of having to share accommodation and the anxiety of having to meet a number of unexpected bills. The migrant has to face all the above at once and the impact could be highly traumatic for him.

Migrants do not differ emotionally from Australian people, but their problems in general, are greater and more numerous and consequently their emotional stability is more precarious. Let us follow a migrant from the moment he conceives the idea of emigrating. Like everyone else who has to make an important decision the migrant's feelings will be ambivalent. One part of him will be tied down to the security of home, the known, familiar and part of him will be oscillating perhaps between the hope of a new life in a prosperous land such as Australia and the "fear" and the "unkown" inherent in every man. Once however, his decision is made all doubts and fears are suppressed because they constitute a threat to his ego and therefore feelings of hope and high expectations will prevail. No-one, however, is in a position to know how deep-rooted in the unconscious of the migrant is

* See Bibliography.

the "fear of the unkown", nor when and under what circumstances it might emerge. It might be a reasonable assumption to say that should the first contact with the host society be a smooth and happy one, the probability is that the fear will remain buried in the unconsciou_, for a while at least, until perhaps the migrant has taken roots and can cope with it, and that the migrant will go through the first stage of adjustment without much frustration and anxiety inhibiting this stage.

What we are postulating so far is that a smooth primary adjustment - at the economic level - is possible and probable even for first generation migrants, provided that measures are being taken to provide them with:-

(a) adequate jobs and adequate pay packets;

(b) acceptance of their overseas qualifications (for non British migrants);

(c) adequate homes at adequate rentals, or adequate loans;

(d) adequate schooling, pre-schooling and after school facilities for their children and educational facilities for the Migrants themselves;

(e) adequate medical, hospital and other social services and finally, and we are touching now an area common to both the economical and socio-psychological adjustment, bilingual social workers preferably from the same ethnic group to help and guide them during their first few months in Australia, or as long as necessary.

Conversely, it is quite obvious that, should the first steps of the migrant be frustrated, the results could be highly undesirable. The migrant might begin to doubt his own values; mistrust, suspicion and fear towards the host society may raise their ugly heads and even when and if the migrant does finally succeed to adjust on the economic level the probabilities are that he will continue to feel cheated and will make no effort to come to further contact with the host; or, if he does so, he will be interpreting even the most innocent situations as offensive, reacting accordingly and inviting similar reaction from the host. Under such circumstances a vicious circle usually begins which is very difficult to break.

This type of migrant, even if completely adjusted economically, is a negative force in the Australian community. He is usually a bad influence on his children - the second generation - and on new arrivals or even on potential migrants, through correspondence. It might therefore be worth while, even at the expense of cutting down on assisted passages, to provide the utmost economic facilities for each migrant immediately upon arrival

and to establish a closer co-operation between migrant, ethnic groups and Government organisations, necessary for his socio-psychological adjustment.

Let us now suppose that the migrant's primary needs have been met and that the migrant is more or less happily adjusting at this level, contributing to his own economic advancement and that of the Australian community. If we were to compare the migrant with a very young child finding his way in new surroundings, his attention is concentrated on one object at first; but as soon as he getsit he wants something else. In the case of the migrant once his primary needs are more or less satisfied he begins to realise how otherwise empty his life is. He misses his friends at home, the cosy cafes, the lively discussions. He is like a tree that has been transplanted in a new garden and lacks the minerals of its homeground. The migrant is now at a point where the first and second levels of adjustment overlap to a varied degree. The second level constitutes the migrant's socio-psychological adjustment, which pre-supposes satisfaction not only at the economic but also at the sociological and psychological level.

As I mentioned before, no one speaks any longer of instant assimilation; there is no such magic formula. We are all socialised to believe that our own culture is the best in the world, our religion the highest, our norms and customs the most worth preserving and no one discards what he considers good and desirable, that which makes him feel superior and relaxed, to adopt what must appear in comparison second best and, being unfamiliar, rouses his fear and anxiety. The migrant is no exception to this rule (neither of course is the Australian host).

If we accept the two premises outlined above -

(a) that all men tend towards ethnocentrism, and

(b) that fear of the unknown breeds anxiety and often prejudice,

it follows that if the unknown could become familiar, fear might disappear; the above could be achieved by face to face contact. But how can we bring together the two groups? The Government could again help by doing some preliminary work. Both Australians and migrants should be encouraged and educated by all available means to appreciate and respect each other's culture. Australians should also be encouraged to visit ethnic clubs, because only then, at the visiting level, will the migrant feel that he is accepted as an equal and not as an inferior. Besides, migrants feel much more secure in their own grounds among their own people and therefore will feel less anxiety. If we add to the above the sense of hospitality inherent especially in South Europeans more than half of the battle is won.

Australians ought to make the first step because of their position as hosts and because they are, generally, much less handicapped than the migrants. They must be educated to realise the benefits this country reaped from its migrants.

It is possible that acceptance by the host society - like acceptance of the child by his parents - may facilitate all other problems for the migrant. Perhaps even the problem of language could become less formidable for the migrant in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect.

An experiment to test the above is being carried out at the moment by the Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney and New South Wales. It began approximately one year ago with the Greek Ladies Auxiliary. Australians who have visited Greece and like Greek people, or who were interested in migrants, or simply were good friends and neighbours, were encouraged to attend the meetings and social functions of the group. The ladies were told (a) that the visitors were friends and admirers of Greek culture; and (b) that they had to act as hosts; they also felt secure in their own premises and drew courage from each other's presence. At first, although shy, they tried their best to be friendly and after a couple of such meetings the ice was broken and even those who knew only a few words of English became talkative; smiles were floating around and the atmosphere was very warm and relaxed. One important point to mention here is the fact that at the first social function - a tea party to celebrate 'Easter 1969' - the Greek ladies who were still shy and had not as yet begun to communicate directly with our Australian visitors asked me to ask the guests what their impressions were of our group. In other words what they needed and hoped to hear were words of acceptance, which of course, were readily offered, sealing a permanent friendship between the two groups. Our Women's group is now ready and willing to co-operate actively with other Australian Women's groups and to have Australian speakers talking to them on Australian customs and culture. Eventually, I hope that each member of the group will become the nucleous of a contact-work-service in her own district of residence. However, before we reach this stage much more work must be done. They must learn better English much more about migrant problems and about services available to solve them because a contact worker can do more harm than good if inadequately equipped for his/her work - we have had many examples of the above.

Parallel to the Women's Auxiliary, the Greek Community premises are open every Sunday afternoon for the migrants; Australians are also encouraged to visit. The young first and second generation migrants and their Australian friends are practicing folk dancing, every now and then switching to Australian pop. Older people talk and remember the olds days at home

and in Australia and compare experiences. They feel relaxed and happy to have their children close by and therefore are more favourably disposed towards their children's Australian friends, the previously "feared" school mates who were "teaching the Australian ways of life to their sons and daughters, leading them astray away from the customs and morals of the family and homeland." In a relaxed atmosphere and at face to face contact these "immoral" Australian youth become "one of us" and therefore less dangerous; in fact they begin to appear to the Greek parents what they actually are: a group of ordinary youngsters, like their own, enjoying life "in a slightly different way perhaps but quite acceptable after all." The girls' skirts might be slightly shorter than they ought to be and the boys' hair slightlylonger than it should be, but one gets used to lengths and everything else which, when new, is "resisted" because of the fear of the unfamiliar.

I must point out here that the majority of people who attend both the Ladies Auxiliary and the Sunday functions are mainly established migrants who have been in Australia for a number of years, (it is very difficult to attract migrants, especially new arrivals, even to their Ethnic Clubs) but they too need to feel happy, to belong and to be accepted. They too have problems with their children, are anxious for their morals and fear that a day may come when they might no longer be able to control them.

We all know of the conflict between the generations, especially in our highly technological and rapidly changing societies. This conflict is much more accentuated in migrant families where the parents are trying desperately to preserve their culture and language and the children are torn between the old and the new, their parents' culture and their peers' way of life which, being more permissive, becomes more desirable perhaps.

Today, parents are in danger of losing status as their children become more proficient in English and ashamed of using their maternal language. If, therefore, centres are encouraged where young migrants can invite their Australian friends and where parents, even when present, do not act as watchdogs* but they themselves mix with Australians on equal terms, with talks and films, encouraging cultural pluralism, and language classes for both groups, such centres will be welcome by both generations and might become the basis of a better understanding between young and old and between host and migrant.

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* Actually this is the practice in the beginning but they are soon discouraged by the attitude of the majority.

The third part of this experiment will be a kindergarten where an equal number of Australian and Greek children could learn each other's language and culture in a "teach one another way", with songs, little plays, slides and films. We would like to explore the possibility that all of these children will be better adjusted at school and later on in the Australian community and that the Greek children will have reduced language problems at school. We also hope that most mothers, Australian and Greek alike, will become involved in the project and will offer to co-operate and help. Co-operation as far as our experiment is concerned, means "face to face" contact and therefore loss of fear through familiarity with the object of fear.

Government support to all the above schemes is highly desirable and urgently needed of course.

To conclude, we repeat that, if we wish to have a prosperous and happy country, we must aim at having prosperous and happy citizens, including migrants.

Migrants must not be regarded as second class citizens. Their culture and language must be respected if we wish them to retain their dignity and self-respect. Measures must be taken therefore to educate the Australians with regard to the valuable contribution of migrants, the subtlety and complexity of many of the European cultures, the need to preserve these cultures, including language, and the resultant benefits to Australia in terms of cultural enrichment. Australians should also try to realise that migrants need to be "accepted" but it is not easy for them to make the first step. The presence of Australians in the ethnic clubs, dances, Balls, etc. will greatly encourage the migrants as it acts as a symbol of acceptance. It will also help the migrants who wish to practice their English and the Australians who wish to learn a foreign language.

Better school, pre-school and after-school facilities are needed for the children, and language laboratories, like those introduced recently at a small number of schools, need to be extended to all schools with a high migrant attendance.

Language laboratories could be established in public libraries and schools and factories for the use of non-English speaking migrants and each migrant could be supplied with a small portable tape recorder and "Teach Yourself English" tapes. The novelty of the tape recorder, the need to learn the language and the privacy of learning it at home should have at least some results. In addition to the above, classes in English could, where possible, be conducted by teachers of the same ethnic group as the migrant's. Many

migrants explained that the reason they discontinued the English classes was the English speaking teacher and the fact that they could not understand "what was going on." If we take into consideration:

(a) the low standard of education of South European migrants in particular;
(b) the fact that they are tired from a hard day's work in the factory;
(c) that a number of other problems trouble their minds;
(d) that they feel anxious that they may appear stupid in class
(e) the difficulty older people find in remembering new words,

we shall then realise that the direct method of learning English must appear to them as an insurmountable obstacle.

Interpreteurs should be available in Hospitals and Child Clinics. Social workers should be attached to all active ethnic clubs and a much closer co-operation should exist between migrants, Enthnic Clubs and the Government. Social workers, contact workers and staff of Government organisations who come into contact with migrants should have special training and, if possible know one or two foreign languages - if this is expected from Air Hostesses it ought to be expected from those who can influence the migrant's delicate balance of "love" and "hate" towards Australia.

This may sound like a long list of requirements, but the main point I want to make is that there are certain services or aids which can only be given by the Government. Neither the Greek Ladies Auxiliary Group, nor the Greek Community Centre will survive for long unless help is offered. It is not just the case of having to find volunteers. It is the case of training and supervising them so as not to cause more harm than good, especially at this initial and therefore precarious stage. Also, it is the case of numbers. One such centre is like a drop in the ocean. A considerable number of them is needed if we wish to have some results, if we wish to preserve all these colourful cultures, all these interesting languages that we are lucky to have amongst us, and benefit by them.

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AN APPROACH TO MIGRANT EDUCATION

P. Arblaster

When considering any system of education one must first answer three questions. Whom are we going to educate? For what purpose are we educating these people? Where will this education take place? First a Philosophy then a Method. First determine the nature of the people to be educated, their needs in terms of finding a more satisfying environment, and the best locations where this process of education can take place.

So often we have seen cases where a tried and proved curriculum along with its tried and proved methods has been applied to a group of people without much consideration of their needs. It has been assumed by the educational administrators that the individuals in the group, or worse still that the group as a collective body, will benefit in the same way as the original recipients of this particular curricular benefited. In the book "The Sabre Tooth Curriculum", woolly horse clubbing was an important subject for all the young men of the society. The fact that the woolly horses had all died out was not seen as reason for dropping the subject from what had been proved to be a most suitable preparation programme for the young men of past generations.

This attitude has been maintained by some teachers in language teaching both here and overseas. Teaching language was thought to be a simple matter of direct comparison. Firstly of words, then of sentences and groups of sentences.

"Je suis un garcon"

"I am a boy"

We learned our lists of vocabulary, we conjugated our verbs, we tried to learn rules of grammar, which were so frequently broken in the next sentence we read. Always these steps, listen, translate into our mother tongue, consider our reply, translate into the foreign language and then speak. All the time we searched for equivalents in our own language.

Of course the whole issue was further clouded by the old traditions of Latin teaching. Language teachers took the systematic analysis of Latin, the terminology used to define each part of the language, and tried to apply it to the teaching of other tongues to which this terminology did not apply. This, the learner was told, was "Grammar" and a knowledge of grammar was essential in the learning of the language.

The second facet of instruction in a foreign language which we inherited from our classical scholars was the accent on the written word. Latin had become a "dead" language, no longer used by a society for normal communication. Therefore its study was generally limited to learning to read and write the language. Each teachers applied to it the sounds of his mother tongue. Likewise the rhythm and intonation of his own language were used on those occasions when vocalisation was necessary. The impact of this philosophy was carried over the teaching of "living" languages. Students learned to translate large sections of prose poetry, and stilted dialogue from one written form to another. The student's knowledge of the language was tested by his ability to translate these passages accurately, to comprehend written passages and answer questions, often in his mother tongue, based on extracts from great authors who had written in the language

If one wished to seriously learn a foreign language for the purpose of communication with foreigners either orally or in normal everyday written form, one hired a private bilingual tutor and went abroad to live in the country where this language was spoken. But then a rather dramatic change occurred in man's pattern of living.

The world began to "shrink". People began to travel. Not just the wealthy merchant or the diplomat but the common man. Some travelled to emigrate, some for business, some for pleasure. Communications rapidly developed, transport became more efficient, faster and relatively more within the reach of the common man. Slowly man found himself in a position of being much closer to his neighbours and his rivals. Obviously he needed to communicate with those who surrounded him or whom he and his fellows surrounded. A formal grounding in the grammar of the language, a sound knowledge of its classical literature, was not adequate for day to day communication. The sounds that met his ears were so often indistinguishable, the intonation, the stresses and rhythm of the utterances of the speaker were so different to his own language, that he was not even in a position to comprehend sufficient of what he heard to translate it into his mother tongue.

As this situation developed so did a whole new approach to learning techniques. Psychology and Physiology were making great strides in the

study of man's mental processes. Scientists began to put forward new theories backed up by experimental data. Maybe there were ways and means to apply Skinner's mechanistic learning processes to language learning. Perhaps conditioning was possible in this field too. Maybe if sufficiently drilled in a particular response, the individual could fire off the appropriate utterance when the button was pushed, by some sort of automatic process which did not require a direct comparison with his mother tongue. As often happens when a new theory comes up, some educationalists went "overboard" on this idea. American linguists began to devise means of drilling which required very little cognitive effort from the student. His aural and visual organs were bombarded with language which he mimicked orally or in written form, not necessarily understanding what he was producing. This would come later.

The British School had rather a different outlook. Theirs was based on a belief that one learned more readily material which one understood. Therefore, this accent on a cognitive approach was carried over into their techniques of language learning. All practice had to be meaningful, and show a logical progression from one step to the next. Unless one thought about the material one was faced with, effective learning could not take place. Unless the learner could see where this material fitted in and had relevance to his background knowledge, then these efforts would be wasted.

Of course, the outcome of this has been a compromise of these two extremes. Many valuable drilling techniques were adapted from the American sphere and used in conjunction with a basic idea that a certain degree of understanding is necessary and that one must apply some cognitive effort in this drill work to achieve greatest retention. So the old techniques have been replaced by a new outlook more relevant to the type of day to day communication needed in the contacts of different linguistic groups. And yet change is often so hard to introduce. Before a teacher will accept change, someone has to convince him that the new techniques are superior to the ones he knows and preferably that they are going to give a more efficient result for the amount of effort that he and his students must expend. Therefore, unless these new techniques can be sold to the teachers in the classrooms, traditional grammar, verb tables, vocabulary lists, translation passages, will continue to dominate and stifle the teaching of languages.

This first section then has shown how in the field of language teaching the application of tried and trusted methods has frequently hampered the application of efficient teaching techniques. Therefore, I would like to now return to the development of this concept of "Determine Your Needs First".

In Australia our first real contact with the problem of language instruction in English to adults arose in the early years of post-war migration. Non English speaking migrants began to pour into our capital cities from war-torn Europe. We needed population to swell our work force, to occupy our vast areas of land, to develop resources which could benefit the whole region and enable it to take a more active part in post war development of the free world. Most of these migrants were so happy to find a land of peace and stability that they themselves made few demands on us and were only too willing to fit in with whatever conditions we wished to provide for them. It was obvious however, that economic, social and political barriers were going to arise unless these newcomers could learn English and be able to compete and co-operate on an equal footing with Australians. This meant that not only language was needed but a certain degree of instruction and attitude building in Australian culture, customs, politics, national aspirations, employment and social opportunities. The teacher was in many cases the migrant's only contact with the sort of life which he hoped to attain. There was and in fact still is, a serious lack of guidance facilities to the migrant to enable him to cope with his day to day problems of employment, housing, education for his children, coping with new laws, problems of health and numerous others. Therefore, the teacher became a social worker, friend and confidant, as well as providing him with a means of communication.

To a certain extent, all these newly arrived migrants had the same basic needs, communication and integration. There was a tendency to lose sight of the fact that each individual came from a different background with differing educational standards, economic status, linguistic habits. The fact that a man was a Greek migrant tended to classify him along with all other Greek migrants; in some people's minds the genus "migrant" covered the whole immigrant population. Little concern was given to whether he was a peasant from Calabria, an industrial labourer from Athens, or an electrical engineer from Brussels. In his own country he fitted into a certain level of society and did not necessarily have any contact with the other two classes of his fellow countrymen. Yet on reaching Australia he found that his official classification was "migrant" and he therefore needed a certain stereotyped processing to equip him for life in Australia. It is feasible to justify this action in retrospect when one considers that the general aspirations of these migrants were oriented towards finding a settled reasonably secure environment in which to bring up their families and forget the turmoil and destruction in their homelands.

This general philosophy gave rise to a certain method of dealing with the problems of adult education. It became obvious that a range of facilities was needed to deal with groups of migrants of mixed nationalities. In those

early stages the problems were seen as being common to all these newcomers regardless of their background. Therefore it was felt that a method of teaching was needed that would equip them on a very general basis to fit into the Australian community to be able to speak the language primarily, less significantly to read and write it and to have sufficient knowledge of laws, customs and public institutions to prevent them from committing serious social blunders, from endangering the lives and property of themselves, their families and other members of the community and from falling foul of the law.

Yet it is obvious that the ability to learn English is going to differ from individual to individual. It is not possible to place all migrants in one class and apply the same methods to each one. The process worker from Yugoslavia may have different attitudes towards learning to the university graduate from Sweden. Some of these newcomers may be virtually illiterate in their own language. Some will be used to a Roman Script, others to an Arabic or Cyrillic script. Some are in need of basic oral communication only, others need a more sophisticated course covering training in written communications. What we must avoid is to assume that our basic course is equally applicable to all migrants. Every effort must be made to see that the composition of a class is, in whatever way possible, approaching homogeneity. The panel beater from Beirut cannot be expected to sit alongside the university professor from Venice and learn at the same speed from the same textbook. And yet to organise a programme in which the range of classes needed is available is extremely difficult. It calls for large centres where a degree of mobility can be built in to the system. We cannot expect the migrant to travel long distances from his home to the centre. Yet to provide these facilities in each suburb or in each country town is virtually impossible. Here again compromise reigns. Perhaps the answer lies in regional centres fed by small local centres.

Thus we had considered the nature of the people to be educated and the basic needs of these people. But what were we educating them for? What were to be the outcomes of this education? Here is where a breakdown occurred. The truth of the matter is that we did not go far enough, quickly enough. A system of classes was set up which gave each migrant the opportunity of attending an English class for two hours on two evenings per week. If he attended regularly he could expect under ideal conditions to complete the course in a little over two years. Even then the structural content of his course and the amount of vocabulary he had learned by that stage was barely enough to equip him to communicate with the man in the street about everyday events and to enable him to make his way through the community and satisfy his outward needs. Little thought was given to his needs to discuss his ideas and problems with other English speaking people, to cope withdetailed instructions from his employers, to understand the jargon

of his particular employment or social group, to take part in discussions on such abstract things as politics, art, social change, world trade. It was assumed that once he had learned to put the correct question tags on the end of a statement, to use a conditional tense correctly, to convert a statement into reported speech, he would then be able to pass on to some other unspecified educational institution in the community where he could gain the necessary finesse to carry out these tasks.

Unfortunately, he so often found that this was not so. When he enrolled for a course in Business Management, Political Science, or Home Carpentry; when he went along to the local Parents and Citizens meeting at the school, when mother joined the cooking classes run by the Ladies Auxiliary at the Church, the words being used were not understood and when she was expected to respond the words were not readily available.

Obviously there is a great need for more courses, for a wider range of courses which will prepare the migrant for these activities mentioned above. There must be material prepared for these courses, textbooks, work sheets, correspondence material, teachers' guides. It is not sufficient for us to import a textbook in "The English of Shop Assistants" and run a course for all those with aspirations in this direction. Local conditions will dictate the type of structures the shop assistant will hear and will need for his responses, packaging methods will be different, as will the names of some items and the uses to which they are put. There is a very wide field for this type of course preparation here in Australia and a great need for our migrants to have such courses available. The purpose for which we are educating, the goals of our teaching, cannot be adequately served until the gap between the existing "Situational English Course" and the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the school's Parents and Citizens Association is closed.

Recent moves have introduced more intensive methods of teaching English. A migrant may now take an eight hour a day course for eight weeks, complete with language laboratory facilities. This is indeed a step in the right direction. It is fairly obvious that an electrical engineer from France with years of study and experience gained at no cost to Australia is indeed an economic asset if only he can be taught English quickly enough to enable him to take up his profession in this country before he becomes lost in an assembly line of a local motor manufacturing firm.

The final point to be considered in this segment is the environment in which learning should take place. Various locations are obvious, the local school, a classroom in a migrant hostel, the training centre of a factory. Of these the one which is most readily available and most

adequately equipped is the local school and this is the one which is most generally used. Training centres in industry are generally suitable but not so widely available. These can be ideally used for special courses associated with the particular trades and professions allied to the industry concerned, but the initial English instruction given to the newly arrived migrant may be best handled elsewhere. Difficulty has been experienced in getting migrants to attend classes at the end of a long shift at work. Some employers have offered incentives such as some time off to attend classes or opportunities of promotion through attendance at classes. This area could be further explored as I feel that management will get a much better deal from migrant employees if this sort of service can be associated with work environment. A great deal can be achieved in fostering loyalty, in accident prevention and in promoting production efficiency through the conducting of English Classes on factory premises with incentives for the migrants to attend.

Other environments where English learning might take place are Baby Health Clinics where mothers can learn to speak and write and also to care for their children, large shopping centres where migrant shoppers can learn how to make their purchases, how to operate accounts, how to make their weekly budget stretch as far as possible. Municipal Councils could conduct classes in local government centres where migrants could come on Saturday mornings to learn English and also to gain some idea of the activities of their local area and ways they can join in groups associated with civic and social activities.

It is worthwhile to consider the need for centres to be set up consisting of classrooms, language laboratories, reading rooms and lounge rooms. Centres where migrants can feel they are welcome; where they can gain a sense of belonging; where they can sit and chat after the lesson; where they can have a game of cards or table tennis, before joining their class; where a trained social worker can give them advice on employment, housing,education for their children; where they can read newspapers and magazines from home and from Australia. This sort of environment would add so much to the whole integration programme and provide the conditions in which teaching English could be more successfully carried out.

Having now considered the nature of the learner, his needs and the learning environment, it is now time to consider the curriculum and methods available to us. Earlier in this paper the traditional word unit, grammatical method was discussed. Its drawbacks are obvious. We do not communicate in word units and traditional grammar is not universally applicable to all languages. To know only the grammar and vocabulary of a language can be likened to a carpenter who knows the name and function of his tools and yet

when given a piece of wood cannot use those tools to c' 'struct a chair or bookcase because he lacks the skill to manipulate them ,ith speed and dexterity, a skill which comes only after hours of guided practice.

There are several basic features of learning a foreign language which are based on this principle of guided practice. The ultimate goal of language study is fluent communication. Communication involves the ability to comprehend what another speaker is saying and to respond in a way which will be understood by the listener and mutually satisfying to the participants. Charles Fries in his book "The Structure of English" sees communication as consisting of "meaningful utterances". These may range from a sigh or grunt to a complex sentence using several different tenses and expressing a pattern of abstract thought. However, each utterance fits into a framework which covers a basic concept of communication and yet can contain at any time a wide variety of words. Certain words in this framework are functional words and may not be changed as they are in fact a part of the framework. Content words on the other hand can be substituted freely without changing the overall concept of the framework. Fries does not attempt to use traditional terminology to define his theory. He has introduced a new set of terms which do not carry any pre-conceived meanings.

This general theory of a division of language into frameworks or "structures" as they are often called has been accepted in Australia by those carrying out the Migrant Education programme and we have developed our course around this theory.

Each structure can be varied in another way apart from substitution. The structure of an utterance such as:

"You're going to the pictures tonight."

can be re-arranged to form a different pattern using the same concept:

(a) Are you going to the pictures tonight?
(b) When are you going to the pictures? Tonight.
(c) You aren't going to the pictures tonight.

These are called sentence patterns and here again any one may be varied by substitution.

Is Marie going to church next Sunday morning?

The language teaching programmers then have taken all these structures and pattern variations and worked out a course which progresses in simple logical steps from one structure to the next. There is no one set way for this progression to be laid out. No one can state categorically that they structure of "He eats his breakfast" must be taught before the structure of

"He ate his breakfast", but there are places where obvious progression must decide the placement of certain structures. There are also certain basic needs or social formulae which a migrant needs to understand and use as soon as he arrives. He will be asked time and time again:

"How long have you been here?"

long before a full understanding of the present perfect tense has been achieved. Yet unless he can comprehend this and respond accordingly he will be seriously handicapped in seeking a job, making social contact with Australians, applying for medical benefits, buying a car and numerous other activities. A limited number of these structures must be built into the early stages of the course and taught in context and drilled in conjunction with the appropriate situations.

Now that the units of language which will constitute each teaching point of the course have been decided upon a programme which sets out in a meaningful progression has been devised let us look at the methods by which this course can be implemented. The "Situational Method" as it is used in Australia has a number of basic principles.

The first is that each sentence pattern is introduced through a situation which is deliberately set by the teacher. This may take the form of:

(a) actions by the teacher
eg. "I can't touch the roof."

(b) manipulation of objects in front of the class
eg. "Are there any matches in this box?"

(c) illustrations on the board or with pictures
eg. "She's doing the washing, isn't she?"

(d) verbal situations constructed using known sentence patterns

eg. "Bill Cartwright won the swimming race at our last meeting. He's the best swimmer in our club. Last Saturday Bill fell off a ladder and broke his leg. He can walk slowly but he uses crutches. He won't be able to swim next week end."

(e) a timetable associated with verbal situations.

Each of these techniques places in the mind of the student an idea or an understanding of the situation he sees or hears. At this point any utterance which is associated with this situation in any language could be learned as a response to the situation, provided it were backed up with similar utterances in association with similar situations.

The technique can be adapted to the teaching of any language. If the situation used is accurate and is presented often enough in association with the appropriate sentence pattern then understanding will most likely be achieved.

The next principle deals with the modelling of the sentence pattern. A good model must be set and maintained by the teacher. The rhythm and intonation patterns of English are likely to be vastly different from those of the learner's own language and therefore the teacher has to consciously teach these features and see that in his model he maintains a uniform pattern. He must also see that he says the pattern naturally. Many of the sounds we use in our speech are so weakly stressed that they are virtually inaudible. In the phrase, "a box of matches," "of" is rarely heard. It is important that the learner knows that it is there yet also learns to say the phrase without stressing the sound. Many well established migrants are still easily identified as of foreign origin because of their uncharacteristic intonation and stress patterns.

The third principle is concerned with drilling techniques. In an earlier part of this paper I mentioned that drill must be meaningful if full retention is to take place. Rote drilling of a model set by the teacher will enable the student to retain a pattern of sounds but the real test is to present his with a situation and give no clues to trigger off his pattern of sounds. The student who has had meaningful drill will immediately associate the situation with a sentence pattern which he drilled in conjunction with that situation. This drill can be chorus, group or individual drilling but it must be associated with ideas. The use of concrete material or illustrations is valuable here. Rather than using a substitution table which can be read from a chart, or call words which may or may not be fully understood the teacher can manipulate his material to vary the content words of his pattern.

The fourth principle is often overlooked or underemphasised. This is that the student must do at least seventy percent of the talking and that much of this should be directed at other students rather than at the teacher. This student to student communication is vital if the patterns learnt in the classroom are to be put into use when they go out into the community. If after first introducing "question tags" the teachers hears a student say to his partner as they walk out the door, "Bill, you're going straight home, aren't you?" he can feel that the lesson was indeed worthwhile.

The fifth principle is that vocabulary is introduced as it is appropriate. There is no attempt to place a vocabulary list up on the board each lesson and tell the students to learn it. As each sentence pattern is introduced

certain function words are learnt, for example in "Where did the taxi go?", "Where" is a function word. Certain content words may be introduced here to fit the pattern, eg. bus, train, utility, truck etc. It may often be that a word the teacher did not intend to introduce comes up during the lesson, and it seems appropriate to include it in the drill work for that lesson. This vocabulary is not always in the form of single words. The "noun" group is often introduced as a vocabulary item.

eg. The establishment of this procedure will lead to greater efficiency.

His decision to promote me influenced my loyalty to the company.

Of course we are not merely teaching a range of sentence patterns formed with certain function and content words. Unless our students can use these patterns to communicate with others then our efforts are in vain. Through the reading and writing of these sentences, further cementing of the structure is carried out in the mind of the student. Finally, he is given some opportunity to utter a flow of language, or to join in a conversation using a variety of patterns. This is where the real test of our teaching takes place and this is also the hardest part of the method to control. Yet it is vital to the success of the Situational Method as unless the student can feel that he has the confidence and ability to communicate with others in his class and with his teacher, it is doubtful if he will attempt anything more than a few formal phrases when mixing with strangers.

A great deal has been said about the desirability of having only students from one language background in a class. It is possible then to place emphasis on the areas where obvious difficulties will be, owing to a clash of structure, phonics, stress or intonation. Yet from a sociological and learning viewpoint there are many disadvantages. Students will be forced to communicate with each other when English is the only common language. Migrants from various countries will meet each other and learn from each other's experiences. Classes formed from only one language group will only further foster the isolation of some migrants from the outside world. I feel sure that the mixed classes have a great advantage even considering that the actual teaching may be easier in a common-language group.

This whole programme must be attractive to the migrant. We must "sell" adult education and, as in any field, selling means advertising, incentives, gimmicks, attractive packaging. Currently only a small proportion of our migrant population is actually making effective use of the courses available to them. Several avenues must be explored to bring about a greater impact in this vital field. One of the key factors in the scheme is the teacher.

This type of work requires a specialist. You cannot take a trained Primary Teacher from his 3rd class room and say "Here is a textbook; here is a class of adult migrants. Teach." Training in this field is just as important as in any field of special education. Not just methodology either. Our teachers are in many ways social workers as well. They need to know sources of aid to migrants, they need to have an understanding of the difficulties a migrant can face and of his rights in the community.

Much of the poor response to adult migrant education has been due to a failure to appreciate the economic pressures on many migrants. I am not suggesting that they should be paid for attending classes in such a way that it is financially attractive to go along two or three times a week. I do however, feel, that the recent decision to pay a basic living allowance to those doing a full time course, is extremely sound.

It is in the first few weeks of exposure to the community that the incentive to learn is at its peak. This may occur at different times for different migrants. Those who live in one of the hostels set up to house newcomers may be protected from the full impact of their inability to communicate for some considerable time. Likewise those men who go to work on a project with a team of fellow countrymen, those women who settle in the inner city suburbs in a street whose residents may be mainly fellow countrymen - these people too, may not stike this barrier for some time. However, when they do decide to seek an English course, they must be able to get all the necessary information concerning location of classes types of courses, duration of courses, possible certificates they may gain, and they should be able to get this quickly and accurately. A continuing advertising programme should be used to ensure that when he is ready to move there are no drawbacks or delays.

Once we have gained his interest let us see that the course we offer is one from which he can gain a fluency in general communications, one which can be followed up by materials to equip him to take an active part in society, in whatever further training he may care to seek, or to participate in the cultural, artistic or sporting streams of our community. Let us see that these courses are flexible enough to fit into whatever educational environment is best suited to the learner's needs, a classroom, the factory training centre, correspondence courses for those in remote areas or bound to home or a hospital bed, intensive courses for professional men seeking recognition in their particular fields, daytime courses for shift workers, television courses for home study. Let us see that those who wish to settle here, or those who come to stay only for several years can make full use of the resources, human, cultural and economic that this national has to offer and to make their contribution to it. Language is the key.

TRADE UNION EDUCATION

P. Matthews

Definitions create problems, but broadly what I understand as trade union education is the education of men and women for their roles as union members and officials. (This excludes some courses such as "ballet and mime for workers" although it is not to say that trade unions should not encourage and assist such ventures.)

Until recently trade union education has been seriously neglected by Australian unions. Some of the reasons appear to be -

(a) a general absence of intellecutal content from the labour movement as a whole ("socialism without doctirnes");

(b) the operation of the arbitration system, which tends to restrict union activity;

(c) the supremacy of the "numbers game" and frequent elections, which tends to make officials insecure;

(d) the weak state of the adult education generally in Australia.

This is not an exhaustive list by any means, but most of the other reasons which can be given appear to relate to one of the above (eg. competition for members, resulting in low subscriptions; the large number of small local unions; the failure of central union organisations to develop services on a national basis, etc.)

It would be over-optimistic to talk about a new surge of activity now, but there are a number of factors which indicate a change in the climate. One is the very fact that the ACTU has appointed an Education Officer, but also there is the *continuous existence* over a period of years of a few programmes - eg. the Vehicle Builders Union schools in Sydney; the Newcastle and Wollongong Day Release Courses; the postal courses run by the WEA of South Australia. All of these have been running for four years or more - this <u>is</u> a record, if only a modest one.

It is significant that these signs have developed at the same time as a number of other changes:

- the strengthening of the white collar union movement,
- the increased use by employers of specially trained industrial relations staff;
- a change in union policies away from arbitration towards bargaining;
- talk of a growth in union services (credit unions, hire purchase company, etc.)
- in the society generally, education has become fashionable and in strong demand.

Again the list is not exhaustive.

The change in attitude towards union education may be a little illusory however, for, while no-one in the movement now denies its potential value, it is still not a top priority and action is still frequently postponed on grounds of poverty, lack of interest by members and so on. This is not intended to sound pessimistic for as against this the changes within the union movement are real - the ACTU is clearly going to be more active; amalgamation into bigger units is happening (for example the projected amalgamation of the AEU, Boilermakers and Sheet Metal Workers will produce Australia's largest union in one of the areas of greatest union activity). What I am implying is that there is a very uneven spread of attitudes towards the development of union education and that therefore, however much we try to develop an ordered and logical system, early growth is likely to be un-ordered and jerky.

NEEDS

For the purposes of this discussion, union education needs are put into four categories.

Firstly, there is training and education for specific union tasks, usually carried out because the students hold a particular office - shop stewards, organisers, secretary, research officer and so on. Some of the activities of these office holders are quite simple others are quite complex. By breaking down the job into its parts however, most are capable of a fair degree of simplification - that is, programmes of education and training for them canbe devised by an examination of the nature of the work carried out.

For example it is possible to break down the work of a shop steward into a number of components -

(a) The steward is a representative of his own union and of the movement. Fellow workers will look to his knowledge of the structure of the movement and its general aims.

(b) The steward is a communicator. He is often a carrier of the information between various parties - employers, representatives, fellow workers, the organiser, a meeting of union stewards.

(c) The steward often takes the first step in the grievance procedure, taking the members case to the foreman or other supervisor. Here he will either resolve the matter, or then becomes responsible for moving it to the next step in the procedure.

Within each of these functions it is possible to see a fairly clear training need. The same sort of exercise can be carried out up the union hierarchy, although, as with management education, it becomes more and more difficult to identify training needs as the level of responsibility rises. For example, a basic course for a new full time organiser might comprise, say, one week in each of the following - industrial law; the bargaining process; organisation and administration; and the economic and social environment of the union. However, when one moves to more senior levels, such as experienced organisers, or state and federal secretaries, needs appear to be much more individual. Some form of personal counselling may often seem to be the most satisfactory solution.

Secondly, unions are engaged in establishing and developing policies on a whole range of issues, some of which relate to industrial matters such as shorter hours, wage determination, bargaining and arbitration. Others are concerned with more general social and economic policies, less directly related to the workplace - for example education, international affairs, pollution, social services.

There is need for a programme dealing with the major areas of interest, providing basic information/idea/understanding. There is less need here to provide special courses for different levels in the union hierarchy.

Thirdly, there is a more specialised area of work which concerns leaders at various levels. Over and above the type of course covering areas of trade union policies, trade union leaders need to keep up to date with changes in the community - in ideas, in new research work in the social sciences and technology. Sydney University Extension Board tries to do something like this for businessmen in its one day seminars.

Finally, there is a need to open the way for unionists to enter the formal tertiary education system. At least one union at present has a cadet research officer studying full time for a degree in industrial relations but there are substantial obstacles in the form of entrance qualifications and finance in many cases. The problem is the general one of mature age entry and scholarships.

This short list of needs seems to me to indicate quite clearly the lines of development in providing resources to meet them. For example:

(1) *Union Skills:* Basic work can be done within union organisations advanced courses probably require co-operation with an education body, or at least the employment of some outside teachers.

One important area in which it seems to me that education bodies must play an important role is in shop steward training. Effective steward training needs to be done on an industry basis and full time - which means in practice, arranging for time-off with pay.

If this is to be accepted I believe it is necessary that the course should be run by education bodies; in any case, as the Oxford University Extra-Mural Delegacy has shown in relation to the motor industry and other industries, such work can be effectively and appropriately done by education bodies equipped for the purpose.

(2) *Union Policy Areas:* Here again it seems to me that union organisation can provide basic work, but that there should be co-operation with education bodies beyond this level.

(3) and (4) *Courses for Leaders and Studies to University Level:* These clearly need to be done in co-operation with education bodies.

RESOURCES

As indicated above, a number of union organisations have in fact been devoting resources to education projects over recent years, and with the entry of the ACTU into the field these will certainly grow. Education Committies now exist within some larger organisations and the appointment of an education officer is being discussed within one large union.

The ACTU's programme, initially involving support for the correspondence scheme together with the promotion of a number of schools in the states and nationally, will grow substantially after the next Congress (September, 1971). This growth should stimulate further activity at the labour council and union level.

As management education has illustrated however, internal resources will always be inadequate. Despite the enormous resources available through individual firms and associations, substantial public resources of money and people have gone into management education over the past 25 years. The problem here, however, relates not only to the lack of public resources devoted to union education - but, going one stage further back, to the whole problem of industrial relations as a subject for study.

The study and teaching of industrial relations in Australia is far behind that of any other industrialised country, both in quality and quantity. Unfortunately, the dominant role of the arbitration system for many years led to belief that industrial relations was a branch of legal studies and it is only recently that the much more important aspects related to sociology, history, politics, psychology and economics - and which make up the subject *INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS* - have been recognised as relevant. In spite of the fact that some change has taken place, the amount of money spent on teaching industrial law, on legal fees for tribunal and court hearings and on fines under the penal clauses, far exceeds that spent on research and teaching about the real causes of industrial conflict and the nature of the industrial system in which we live.

In spite of the fact that two universities now have departments of industrial relations within their economics faculties no university has more than three full-time teachers in this subject and there is not one professor. This is an incredible but accurate account of the situation. On the other hand, a number of universities have recently appointed professors in the field of business administration, marketing and finance - an unfortunate reflection of the emphasis that governments and industry place on the mechanical rather than the human elements in our industrial system. University finance is primarily a Commonwealth Government responsibility and it would only require an indication from Canberra that money is available for expanding work in this field for the universities competing to set about the task of building up good industrial relations departments.

Unfortunately, however, all the indications continue to point to an emphasis on government support to management education. The only recent examination of the problems of education in this field has been by the Commonwealth Committee on Postgraduate Management Education, a committee of imported American management educators set up to relieve the Commonwealth Government of the pressures of business and academic-management educators for money for the establishment of Business Schools. The Report of the Committee has not yet been released but its terms of reference seemd so restrictive as to preclude recommendations about the wider problems of industrial relations education.

There is a grave danger that with establishment of one or two major business schools developing from the report, that industrial relations education will be concentrated in them. In fact what is needed, is the establishment of one or two major industrial relations institutes quite separate from the business schools. Such institutes would not only teach undergraduates and graduates, and carry out research, but should also have two extension wings, one providing programmes for trade unions, the other for managements. This extension service would have the vital function of making available to both sides of industry the research findings and the teaching resources of the institutes.

The extension services of these industrial relations institutes could provide only part of the resources required for union education. Other resources are required from the public education system - through technical colleges, tertiary colleges and the universities. At present many of the existing courses offered by these institutions are primarily geared to the needs of employers - obviously because it is employers who have made demands on them. The form and shape of courses required by unions is, not surprisingly, different - *but not necessarily inferior.* For example, it is a fact of life that regular attendance at a course over a long period is much more difficult for an active unionist than it is for a management person; the latter often obtains special release from work to further his studies in connection with his job.

It is not beyond the ingenuity of educationists at these institutions to arrange courses to meet the needs and the availability of unionists. Nor should it be beyond the foresight and enlightenment of employers to begin to see that, in the long run, it is sensible to grant leave to honorary officials for study in connection with their union functions.

In many countries the major public institutions providing services for union education are the adult education or extension departments of universities. In Britain and the United States particularly these bodies play a very big role, and work closely with the trade union movement to co-operate in offering good relevant courses. Oxford, London, Nottingham, Glasgow and Sheffield Universities in Britain; and New York, Harvard, Illinois and Wisconsin Universities in America all have very big programmes. Unfortunately, in Australia none of the adult education bodies is specifically equipped for this work. Indicative of the situation is the fact that at a recent meeting of teachers of industrial relations in Canberra, the only representatives of adult education work came from New Zealand universities. (It was at this meeting also that a leading internal academic in the field of industrial relations said that the study of industrial relations is regarded so poorly in his university that he dare not further risk the status of his department by engaging in trade union education.)

CONCLUSION

The main responsibility for developing trade union education must lie with the unions themselves. This is not, however, only a matter of union financed resources being made available; what is required concurrently is strong union pressure for more public resources for union education and for industrial relations education in general. Such activity would represent the kind of committment by unions which is at present only visible in brief glimpses. Even in this situation, however, and assuming that these glimpses will become more frequent, there are factors of significance for adult educators to consider:

(a) They should recognise the present situation in which unions are showing some signs of commitment. Over past years adult educators have felt rebuffed by unions - now that unions are moving slightly they should not be rebuffed in turn. As mentioned earlier union commitment is likely to be uneven - it requires recognition.

(b) Possibly because of past rebuffs (and perhaps other factors as well) adult education bodies seem to me to be less well equipped to meet union education needs than they were. Have they the staff to do the job?

(c) With this goes the lack of general industrial relations education resources. Adult educators need to use their pressures to expand these resources. This is an obvious field for adult education/ extension work, even apart from trade union education.

(d) The absence of residential facilities for adult education is of particular significance to union education, where short term residential courses are so important.

(e) Adult educators need to promote adult entry to universities more vigorously (as in WA).

This note has not tried to produce a blue print for trade union education. It is all too easy to do so. What I have tried to do is suggest some lines along which we should start to travel, in the belief that if we do it will then be worthwhile to produce some sort of blueprint.

THE POSTAL COURSE SCHEME FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

E. Williams

This report is a summary of a more extended review (prepared as a part of an internal evaluation by the W.E.A.) of the trade union postal course scheme introduced by the Workers' Educational Association of S.A. Inc., and the University Department of Adult Education in 1964. Apart from discussing general aspects of the working of the scheme, this Report evaluates some of the results achieved in catering for the first 1,000 persons to submit lessons on the courses. It concludes with a few tentative conclusions assessing the results of the scheme and suggests a few directions in which future development might occur.

Little time need be spent in discussing whether, educationally, unions are "disadvantaged" or whether unions are "groups" in an educationally cohesive sense. This report accepts that unions are educationally disadvantaged in the sense that they form one of the two legs - management and labour - on which the country's economy rests. One leg, management, secures massive direct and indirect support from the public purse for its educational needs. This support is directed through well supported tertiary institutions including universities and technical colleges which provide an extensive range of management courses directed at improving the individual's efficiency in a management-type situation. Courses range from imparting managerial skills as such, while others are directed at teaching skills and knowledge which enable its possessor to, firstly, acquire and hold a position and, secondly, assist him in his mobility up the management ladder.

Expenditure in this area usually prompts only one question - is it enough, as in a competitive world the country rests on an efficiently trained (technically and managerially) work force. In any society where industrial relations rest on the belief that workers, as a group, have special needs and interests which require formulation, submission, and advocacy against those of management or at least reconciling with those of management, there is an assumption that the workers' group is qualified, in terms at least of educational expertise and training, to negotiate on equal terms with the management group.

Where the assumption is incorrect the process of industrial bargaining is heavily weighted on one side and against the other. It is this lack of balance in educational services in favour of management which lead to the conclusion that unions are educationally disadvantaged groups. Unions are groups from an educational viewpoint. As associations they have special educational needs relating to their functioning as groups and their wider role within society. Furthermore, the loyalty within the union movement binding a union's members to it as an organisation, might enable unions to act as potentially effective intermediary institutions for general adult education services aimed at their members. In this latter sense they can occupy an important place in general adult education provisions within the community.

The W.E.A. Postal Course scheme was introduced in recognition of the twin needs of the union movement - a training in specific skills for union officials or rank and file members in matters directly related to their union roles, and for courses of a more general adult educational nature.

Although this report concentrates on the W.E.A.'s postal course scheme, it is perhaps important to note that since 1958 the W.E.A. has provided (directly or in association with the University of Adelaide Department of Adult Education) other educational services for the union movement. An annual average of two residential week-end schools has been held, a number of evening courses, a residential course for under-40s (young unionists), and some non-residential week-end seminars have helped to maintain contact with the union movement. Thus, the Postal Course Scheme did not emerge in a vacuum. It was established by an organisation already linked with the union movement (through union affiliations, union members on the W.E.A.'s governing bodies, and through a continuing body of union educational activity) able to build on a solid State basis and rely on support from State unions pending the acceptance of the Scheme by unions elsewhere in Australia.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE:

Although postal courses have been an important form of trade union education for years in Britain and some Scandinavian countries, the scheme introduced in 1964 in South Australia and subsequently extended throughout Australia was quite new to this country. Furthermore it was introduced in an industrial environment with virtually no tradition of adult education designed specifically for, and supported by, the organised trade union movement.

Eleven postal courses were offered at the start. These comprised "Federal," "State" and "Local Government", "Economics for the Man in the Street," "Everday English", "How to Study", "World Affairs," "Arithmetic and Statistics," "Trade Union Branch Officials," "Shop Stewards," "The Australian

Arbitration System," "Public Speaking and Chairmanship." Subsequently, the following courses have been introduced - "English (2)," "Industrial Psychology," "Automation in Australia," "History of Australian Trade Unionism," "Running a Meeting," "Clear Thinking," and "Australia and South East Asia."

These courses might be divided into a number of categories. Some are of general interest to adults and deal with socio-political questions (eg. "World Affairs, "Australia and South East Asia") and are thus founded in traditional W.E.A. - University subject fields; some are definitely remedial, aiming at making up defects in basic education (eg. "English," "Arithmetic") others have been designed to equip the adult for an active role in group affairs, specifically, union activities (eg. "Chairmanship and Public Speaking"), while another group of subjects has aimed at educating the active trade unionist for specific tasks within the movement (eg. "Shop Stewards" and "Trade Union Branch Officials").

Two courses have broken entirely new ground in their own right by bringing together in one course information which is spread over a mass of publications and books. These are the courses, "The Australian Arbitration System" and "A History of Australian Trade Unionism."

Merely arranging for the courses to be written and for their subsequent typing in draft, checking, and printing was a lengthy and time consuming operation. Once having decided on the initial group of subjects, the most difficult task of all was finding the right people to write the courses. This, perhaps, remains the single most difficult aspect of running a postal course scheme. A number of authors of courses were extremely slow in preparing their courses (eg. one took about eighteen months to do so), while others, inexperienced in educational writing had to be assisted in detail and occasionally encouraged to continue and, in some cases, people who had promised to prepare courses subsequently withdrew after considerable procrastination thus disrupting publicity plans and the general typing timetable.

Eventually, however, the courses were written by a number of people in Adelaide (eg. Commissioner J.H. Portus, the W.E.A. Director, H. Hudson, nowState Minister of Education, etc.), by a number of active trade unionists (eg. the former General Secretary of the Vehicle Builders Union, C.R. Hayes,) and some by academics from outside Australia (eg. Dr. Ian Turner). All courses were written specifically for Australian conditions but some were based, structurally and in content, on courses offered by Ruskin College (Oxford) and the National Council of Labour Colleges (N.C.L.C.) Britain, now the T.U.C. Correspondence College.

Although members of the general public have been permitted to apply for the courses on payment of the set fee (sufficient to cover tutorial, administrative, and postal costs) the scheme has been consciously prepared for and aimed directly at members of the trade union movement. Trade unions

have affiliated directly with the scheme at a cost of $10 plus 1 cent per member to a total not exceeding $200 for each trade union. This affiliation fee was increased in 1969 to $10 plus 2 cents per member with no upper limitation on the fee paid by any union. In return for affiliation with the scheme, any member of a union has been able to undertake any number of these postal courses free of charge.

A useful if irregular source of income has been derived from enrolments on the courses from non-unionists. At various times the courses have been advertised to the general public through such adult education agencies as the Victorian Council of Adult Education, the W.E.A.'s of NSW and SA, and the University of Western Australia Board of Adult Education. While reasonable, ie, $11 for a 12 leason course), fees for private students have been sufficient to produce a surplus which has helped to subsidise the trade union section of the scheme, in addition to stimulating enough enrolments to make the scheme an administratively viable enterprise.

From the outset, the scheme was made available to unions throughout Australia. There were a number of reasons for this decision but the main factor was the belief that the total union population in South Australia was insufficient to support an adequate range of courses and justify the creation of special administrative machinery. The W.E.A. believed that, given Australia's relatively smail population, it was logical that only one postal course organisation should cater for the entire movement and thus an exclusive concentration on South Australia would be self defeating. In the long run, concentration of the courses in South Australia alone would not produce sufficient demand for them to become administratively viable. It is interesting to note that the initial success of the scheme in Australia probably acted as the main stimulus to the introudction of a similar scheme in New Zealand.

It is probably fair to say that, despite the nominal dual paternity of the scheme, most of the work and finance to prepare and launch the scheme was undertaken by the W.E.A. Contact was made by the W.E.A. in 1959 through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in New York, with a large number of United States trade unions who forwarded a tremendous number of union training manuals. Postal contact was also made with the N.C.L.C. in Britain which was distinctly hostile (a contrast to its great helpfulness during myrecent visit to their organisation in Scotland) and Ruskin College which agreed to make all its courses available for use at a nominal charge. In fact, Ruskin College courses proved to be largely unsatisfactory being out of date, too academic, or unrelated to Australian conditions, so that generally our courses were written from scratch and without reference to any from overseas.

Since these early days the administrative problems have basically turned on the question of coping with fluctuating demand and also a reluctance by the W.E.A. to make medium or long term commitments as it has not

been aware of how the scheme would be financed once its pioneering phase has been completed. The W.E.A.'s own financial position has also been one that has prevented the employment of an organiser (academic or otherwise) who should be in charge of the scheme on a full-time and exclusive basis.

The W.E.A. approached some forty unions in South Australia, speaking to the Executive Committees of about thirty unions, to obtain the first batch of affiliations which formed the core of support on which much of the subsequent expansion of the scheme was based.

Attempts were soon made to extend the scheme to all of Australia. In 1964, two members of the W.E.A. Executive and the Director visited Melbourne in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Victorian Labour College (a quasi-Marxian relic of some bygone age) to join the scheme and co-operate as agents for it in Victoria. Largely owing to the opposition of the Victorian Labour College, which was officially backed by the Melbourne Trades Hall Council, and despite the considerable number of individual enquiries received from Victoria, no "blue-collar" union from that State has yet affiliated with the Scheme. Conversely, the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Officer's Association (A.C.S.P.) with its HQ in Melbourne, has been a warm supporter of the scheme, being instrumental in securing the affiliation on a Federal basis of a number of important white-collar unions.

In 1965, the three W.E.A. members who had visitied Victoria the previous year visited Queensland, addressed the Trades and Labour College and spoke to a number of unions, as a result of which some affiliations were received including that of the Queensland Labour College.

The Department of Adult Education has been involved in the scheme from the beginning. Its Director, then Mr. Hely, gave it his blessing, while Professor Duncan examined the first batch of courses, commented helpfully and constructively on them and was readily available for consultation by the W.E.A. Director. In the first year, too, Mr. Lawton acted as an unpaid tutor for some of the courses while, early in 1967, Mr. Warburton acted in a similar capacity. Financially, too, the Department has helped with grants of $300 in 1964 and 1965. Additionally, the Department made a grant of $1,000 late in 1965 for the purchase of books. Because of uncertainty as to how any expansion in the scheme could be financed, this amount was not in fact spent.

FINANCE:

In the years 1964 - 1969 there is no really typical year to provide any real indication of the annual cost of running the scheme on a continuing basis. The years 1964 and 1965 included considerable expenditure of an establishment nature - the preparation of courses and unusual quantities of publicity material. Since 1967 the Scheme has been marking time while (a)

the W.E.A. undertook a detailed evaluation of the results so far achieved and (b) while areas for future financing were examined.

The following Income and Expenditure statement could be drawn from an average of the five years' working of the Scheme, providing an indication of the scale of operations, and some indication of likely costs.

Expenditure		*Income*	
Tutors: Making Courses	*2,000*	*Affiliation Fees*	*3,000*
Salaries	*3,000*	*Individual Students' Fees*	*1,000*
Postages	*500*	*Deficit*	*3,500*
Stationery	*500*		
Tutors: Course Revision	*250*		
New Courses	*500*		
Publicity Material	*750*		
	$7,500		*$7,500*

No allowance is made in salaries for the employment of the Director of the W.E.A. on the Scheme (for say a quarter of the year), nor has any allowance been made for office expenditure such as rent, telephone, office equipment and the like.

A scheme which was maintained fully up-to-date through the regular revision of courses and the introduction of new courses would require more expenditure under a number of the headings listed.

The above Income and Expenditure account does, however, provide a reasonable guide as to the cost of operating a reasonably modest scheme (20 courses) for about 1,000 students per annum on an Australia-wide basis. This could well service unions with a combined membership of 500,000 - 750,000 - in this area still only informed guesses are possible.

ASSESSMENT OF THE SCHEME(1967):

A detailed assessment of the scheme made by the W.E.A. in 1967 provided much useful information. Although some figures would certainly differ for the years 1968 and 1969, in particular as a consequence of the large shift which has occurred from blue to white collar workers, it is felt that the 1967 assessment is of merit in itself and of some significance in considering the future of this or any similarly constituted scheme.

(1) Educational Results

Granted no objective criteria, or even the quasi-objective critieria of examination results, for judging the educational success of the scheme one is really left with little more than subjective impressions. The completion rate is, perhaps, of some value in determining results. At the extremes, if no student completed any lesson in any course, or if all students completed all lessons in all courses one might well seriously question the scheme's effectiveness. The important question is "if completion rate" is to be taken as an index of "success", what is the completion rate at which success can be claimed?" The writer feels that the search for such an ideal is likely to be fruitless. By comparing completion rates one year with another, however, it is likely that an internal measuring rod of a scheme's effectiveness can be developed. Completion rates as between schemes of a similar nature in different countries might also provide a number of useful points for comparisons.

The following tables indicate various facets of the working of the scheme. They are based on the first 2,200 enquiries received from persons considering enrolling for a course from the scheme's inception in 1966 to October 1966. Comparisons have been made, where appropriate, with the work of the National Council of Labour Colleges, Britain (the N.C.L.C. now run by the Trade Union Congress).

TABLE 1

Popularity of Courses

	A. APPLICANTS		B. EFFECTIVE STUDENTS	
	Course	No. of Apps	Course	No. of Eff. Stud.
1.	Everyday English	337	Everyday English	179
2.	Public Speaking	301	Arithmetic & Statistics	151
3.	Arithmetic & Statistics	222	Public Speaking	115
4.	How to Study	208	Economics	79
5.	Economics	185	English I	60
6.	World Affairs	132	How to Study	65
7.	English I	116	Shop Stewards	51
8.	Shop Stewards	104	Running a Meeting	46
9.	Trade Union Branch Off.	99	Industrial Psychology	45
10.	Australian Arbitration	97	Trade Union Branch Off.	42
11.	Industrial Psychology	97	World Affairs	37
12.	Chairmanship	83	Chairmanship	35
13.	Running a Meeting	71	Australian Arbitration	30
14.	Fed. State & Local Gov.	47	Fed. State & Local Gov.	24
15.	Automation in Australia	30	English II	20
16.	English II	30	Automation in Australia	18

Notes

1. Applicants and Effective Students

Applicants are merely those unionists who have enquired about particular courses and been supplied with the first two lessons. Effective students are those unionists who submitted answers to one or more lessons in the courses for which they enrolled. The latter group are the only group for which the N.C.L.C. (now the T.U.C. Correspondence College) in Britain keep statistics and which it counts as students for the purpose of computing enrolments or completion rates. Nonetheless, there are advantages in keeping records for both groups, as differences between the two sets of statistics reveal differences in either motivation or the intrinsic interest of the first lesson of each course. Thus Table II shows the % of applicants who did not return a single lesson after being provided with course material.

Table 1 cont'd

Notes cont'd

2. *The table is, strictly speaking, not a popularity table as the subjects "Industrial Psychology", "English I and English II, and "Running a Meeting" were not available from the beginning. Nonethless, there is some value in seeing a rough hierarchy of interest. The table, in fact, shows some similarities between N.C.L.C. courses and W.E.A. courses in that the remedial subjects of English, Arithmetic and Statistics, and Public Speaking are the most popular amongst students in each scheme. What might appear to be a surprising lack of interest in courses designed to fit people to perform a Union job, the low placing of the "Branch Officers", and "Shop Stewards" courses, might easily be explained by the fact that there are far more rank and file unionists than there are union office holders or potential office holders. The comparatively high initial interest in "Economics" is a striking contrast with the lack of interest normally shown in W.E.A. evening courses in "Economics" held in Adelaide.*

TABLE II

Percentage of Applicants who failed to send in a single lesson.

No. of Apps not sending in a single lesson	Course	All Apps.	S.A. Apps. Only	Apps. from rest of Australia
9	English II	30.0	18.1	36.8
71	Arithmetic & Stat.	31.9	27.4	42.0
25	Running a Meeting	35.2	30.5	40.0
12	Automation in Aust.	40.0	23.0	52.9
50	English I	43.1	36.0	49.8
158	Everyday English	46.9	46.9	46.9
53	Shop Stewards	50.9	43.9	63.1
52	Industrial Psychology	53.9	45.1	57.1
56	Trade Union Branch Off.	56.5	50.0	66.6
106	Economics	57.2	50.4	70.3
48	Chairmanship	57.8	56.2	63.1
138	How to Study	66.3	63.6	57.9
206	Public Speaking	66.4	53.0	80.5
67	Australian Arbitration	68.3	61.5	77.7
95	World Affairs	71.9	66.6	79.6
41	Fed.State & Local Gov.	79.0	74.6	87.2

TABLE III

% of Applicants who failed to send in a single lesson -

South Australia and elsewhere.

South Australian Applicants	*51.8*
Applicants from elsewhere	*63.1*
All Applicants	*54.9*
N.C.L.C. (Estimate only)	*30.0*

Notes

1. *The most obvious fact revealed by Tables 2 and 3 is the high percentage of applicants who fail to send in a single lesson after being sent course material. The simple explanation for this is, that, as a matter of deliberate policy, we make it as easy as possible for people to apply. Thus, providing a person belongs to an affiliated union, he need only fill in an application form from his union journal or complete an application form on one of our printed leaflets. Clearly, this procedure leads to a considerable amount of "impulse enrolment", its analogy in the field of economics is the "loss-leader". The main purpose is to arouse his initial interest so that he makes contact with this organisation, after which it is our task to devise means of retaining his interest.*

2. *In 1967, in an attempt to distinguish between people only slightly interested and those who might be genuinely interest in the courses, every applicant for a course was asked to forward 50 cents to cover the cost of posting the first lesson material to him. The following figures show this has been extremely effective bringing the South Australian figure into line with the estimated figure for the NCLC in Britain:*

TABLE IV

% of Applicants who have paid initial postage but not sent in first lesson (1967)

	No. Enrolled and paid postage.	No. from Column 1 not sending in first lesson.	% from Col.1 who have not sent in first e lesson.
South Australia	169	64	31.9
Elsewhere	243	103	42.3
All	412	167	40.5

3. One very interesting feature of Tables III and IV is the significant difference between the % of applicants sending in a single lesson, from South Australia and Elsewhere; in each case the difference, in South Australia's favour is of the order of 10-11%. This might be accounted for by the feeling of remoteness which applicants from outside South Australia might have in connection with a scheme administratively centred in South Australia.

The figures suggest decisevly that the content of the first lessons of most of our courses is not the factor which caused the high percentage of applicants between 1964-66 not to send in a first lesson.

TABLE V

% of Effective Students who completed a course.

No. of Effective Students.	No. of Certs.	Course	All Effective Students.	Effect. Studnt S.A.	Effect. Studnts Elsewhere
46	29	Running a Meeting	63.0	64.0	61.9
18	11	Automation in Australia	61.1	60.0	62.5
45	27	Industrial Psychology	60.0	70.5	53.9
35	21	Chairmanship	60.0	64.2	42.8
66	36	English I	55.0	44.4	63.6
20	11	English II	54.5	53.1	55.8
37	19	World Affairs	51.3	57.6	36.3
24	10	Fed. State & Local Gov.	41.6	38.8	50.0
51	15	Shop Stewards	29.4	29.7	28.7
179	51	Everday English	28.8	28.0	29.7
65	16	How to Study	24.6	14.5	52.9
115	28	Public Speaking	24.3	23.4	26.4
79	17	Economics	21.5	20.0	26.3
30	6	Australian Arbitration	20.0	20.0	20.0
151	27	Arithmetic & Statistics	17.8	18.0	17.5
42	4	Trade Union Branch Off.	9.8	10.0	8.3
		TOTALS:	32.7	30.4	36.1

Note: Figure for NCLC Completions is 52%

Notes

1. Compared with the 52% completion rate of the N.C.L.C., the 32.7% completion rate for W.E.A. postal courses might seemaa little disappointing. In fact, when one examines each course, it will be seen that no fewer than nine courses (out of 16) have a completion rate of over 50% (either for all students or for stdents outside South Australia). Of the remaining courses, two, "Shop Stewards" and "Branch Officers", broke completely new ground and require to be written by a person with wide educational and union experience - clearly they will need much re-writing if they are to be brought up to standard. Another two, "Everday English" and "Australian Arbitration System," are in fact very fine courses and have produced a number of

letters of appreciation from students. The latter course would benefit greatly from the provision of a number of books not readily available. Another apparently unsatisfactory course, "How to Study", is based on a successful course from England but its comparative lack of success here is probably due to the number of books to which a student is required to refer. The "Arithmetic and Statistics" is outdated and the "Statistics" section does not seem to follow naturally from the "Arithmetic" section. "Economics for the Man in the Street" is probably pitched at much too high an academic level, while the "Public Speaking" course produces excellent work from many students (including the submission of tapes for detailed comment) despite its statistically low completion rate.

2. *It is interesting to note that the completion rate is higher for students from outside than within South Australia (compare with Tables III and IV). Although no figures are available, this is probably because students from outside South Australia are drawn more from white collar occupations than in this State.*

3. *Vocational interests or examination requirements might account for the high completion rate in some courses, eg. "English I & English II", and "Federal, State and Local Government" for students outside South Australia.*

4. *Relevance to the interests of an adult unionist, and a good tutor marking the courses, might account for the high completion rate in "Running a Meeting", "Automation in Australia," "Industrial Psychology" and "Chairmanship."*

5. *As good tutors are an important factor in the success of postal courses, it should be recorded that the tutors employed in this scheme are devoted to the work and many of them receive letters of thanks from students and sometimes presents, eg. $2 from a bread-carter who completed the "Everday English" course.*

As the courses have been available to individuals paying their own fee, in addition to persons nominated free of charge by virtue of thei union's affiliation with the scheme, it is possible to compare the "completion rate" between the two types of students. This comparison is given in the following tables:

TABLE VI

Percentage of Applicants who failed to send in a single lesson

	Fee Paying	Trade Unionists
South Australian Applicants	39.9%	51.8%
Applicants from Elsewhere	38.4%	63.1%
All Applicants	38.9%	54.1%

TABLE VII

Percentage of Effective Students who completed a course.

	Fee Paying	Trade Unionists
South Australian Applicants	24.3%	30.4%
Applicants from Elsewhere	21.6%	36.1%
All Applicants	22.0%	32.7%

Two signficant facts are revealed by the above Tables.

1. Table VI shows that initial interest by fee paying students is much higher than that for unionists. One would expect this, in so far as the fee paying students find it more difficult to enrol (eg. they have to go to the trouble of making out a cheque or money order) and, of course, they are required to pay the course fee.

2. Table VII, however, reveals the remarkably interesting fact that the completion rate for fee paying effective students is from 6%-15% and overall 10.7%, less than it is for union students who are not required, personally, to pay any fees. Thus, it would seem that motivation to complete their studies is much higher amongst non-fee paying than fee paying students. This is directly contrary to a frequently held belief that unless a person pays for something he does not appreciate it.

CONCLUSIONS:

Moving from a consideration of the detailed aspects of the working of the scheme to a general evaluation, the following conclusions might well be drawn:-

(1) Felt Needs: The number of unionists enrolling for the Scheme, particularly when allowance is made for the fact that publicity support from the W.E.A. has often been minimal because of our own tight budgeting situation, indicates that the postal courses offered in the various subjects covered by the scheme filled a definite felt need by the unionists at whom they are directed. These needs were felt positively and negatively by union officials. The former attitude was reflected in a number of secretaries and organisers lending their wholehearted support and encouragement to the Scheme; the latter was sometimes reflected in hostile attacks on the Scheme, some aimed at preventing it ever starting at all. White collar union officials responded very readily to the notion of the Scheme, but many officials of blue collar unions were sceptical or hostile. There is nothing really surprising about this. It just indicates that as much time, at least in the developmental years, must be spent on maintaining contact with union officials (to keep them informed and fully acquainted with what is occurring) as on publicising the courses amongst the rank and file members of the union movement. The appointment this year by the A.C.T.U. (1970) of an Education Officer must be construed as a top policy recognition of the need for union education.

(2) Union Support: The degree of support given to the Scheme by unions, blue and white collar in South Australia and white collar on the Federal scene, suggests a readiness to accept postal course tuition as an essential element in a trade union education programme.

(3) Government Attitudes: The negative attitude of a Labour and Liberal Governments in South Australia and the Liberal Federal Government is, discouraging for those who feel that union education justifies public financial support in the same way as financial support is provided for general adult education or managerial education. The A.C.T.U. and A.C.S.P.A. acting officially on Governments may well be able to accomplish far more in securing government financial subsidy for this work. Adult education bodies can assist by lending their support to efforts made by A.C.S.P.A. and A.C.T.U. for public money. Parochial or institutional attitudes of one or two State adult education bodies, if they exist, should also not be allowed to prevent the union movement claiming its fair share of public money for its own educational needs. For as long as one can foresee, the lelementary, secondary, and tertiary educational needs of

of the community are going to present just demands for more money. These legitimate, even urgent demands, must not be allowed to obscure the urgency of the demands for educational assistance to the Australian union movement.

(4) Difficulties: All worthwhile educational programmes pose their particular difficulties. Those presented by a union educational programme basically stem from a whole range of factors so that the establishment of an educational infra-structure is required before work can start. So far as a union educational postal course scheme is concerned these include:-

(i) Scarcity of Resources: Above all there is the lack of money. But of great importance has been the lack of suitably qualified persons to write and mark postal courses, and also the absence of a sufficiently interested body of trained persons to assess and evaluate the Scheme on a continuing basis. Growth and broadening of curricular in tertiary institutions in the last four years, an increasing degree of sophistication within the higher ranks of the union movement, and the more frequent coming together on a personal level of senior blue and white collar unionists suggests that a serious scarcity of trained personnel might well be becoming a thing of the past.

(ii) Finance: At the risk of repetition this deserves a separate mention. The Federal Government should be required to provide 50% of the cost of running a union educational scheme in return for which they might be permitted a consultative/advisory role in the operation of the scheme. Given this degree of recognition, the union movement, itself, would be greatly encouraged to set aside the increasing sum which will be necessary to consolidate, expand and improve the Scheme.

(iii) Materials: Granted the availability of personnel, resources and money, special efforts will be required to develop correspondence courses so that they utilise the latest developments in technology. I take it for granted that courses must be printed and presented in a visually attractive way. We need to know more, however, about the techniques appropriate to various levels of learning and obviously, if psychological insights can be obtained into the attitudes of persons embarked on union postal course schemes, this will assist us in planning and preparing further courses.

Experiments should be made with the use of gramaphone records, tapes, and - in the not too distant future - it is possible to

envisage postal courses supplemented by television video programmes which can be attached to a student's own television set and returned by him at the conclusion of a lesson.

Almost any educational technique that can overcome the isolation of the postal course student is likely to be of great benefit. One imagines this is particularly true, the lower the existing educational level of the student, who needs all the assistance he can get in organising his time and materials, and in maintaining his interest. Special materials are required for most union education programmes which are related to the needs of the unionist as a unionist as well as a private citizen. Even where a course is provided in areas outside the direct realm of union activity (eg. arithmetic) there would seem to be a good case for providing courses with examples which can be applied in union-centred activities. Professional courses could well be organised which would assist union members in securing qualifications to help them in their professional or occupational advancement. This has been done very successfully by the National Association of Local and Government officers (N.A.L.G.O.) in Britain. Many commercial correspondence colleges charge exorbitant fees and have no outside supervision of the quality of the services they provide.

Development of services in this field by the union movement would rapidly create a body of students (of value in itself and also useful in popularising the whole notion of a more comprehensive union education programme), would help to establish union education on a sound basis, possibly produce a financial surplus which could be used in other aspects of union education, and save union members a considerable amount of money at present spent on courses provided by commercially operated correspondence colleges. Various levels of students must be recognised. Courses must thus provide for progression and, ideally, lead from the lowest to the highest educational level. Divided into parts, such as "Introductory," "Intermediate," and "Advanced," the appropriate levels can be taken by unionists with varying educational backgrounds. Various categories of interest should also be catered for. We have already mentioned 'professional courses' to which could be added 'skill courses', related to a training in skills to fit the unionist for a senior position (paid or voluntary), 'remedial courses' such as arithmetic and English and general adult education courses in socio-political-economic fields.